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## SUGAR DUTIES ACT OF 1846—AFRICAN IMMIGRATION—COLONIAL LEGISLATION.

### ADDRESS TO THE FRIENDS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

The subjoined address, prepared at the request of the Conference held at the Hall of Commerce, Threadneedle Street, on Saturday, the 20th May, 1848, has been forwarded to the friends of the anti-slavery cause throughout the country:—

DEAR SIR,—In compliance with an invitation of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, a Conference of its members and friends was held in London, on Saturday, the 20th of May last, for the purpose of taking into consideration the great augmentation of the slave-trade which has taken place in connexion with the Sugar Act of 1846—the proposed scheme of African emigration to the British colonies—and the coercive legislation to which the emancipated classes and the immigrant labourers have been subjected. The object of the Conference was to find remedies, if possible, for these great evils; and to propose them for adoption to the country and to parliament.

Above seventy gentlemen met on the occasion. Besides those which resided in and near London, there were present, friends of the Society from Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Paisley, Birmingham, Bristol, Exeter, Falmouth, Newcastle, Norwich, Southampton, Worcester, Colchester, Chelmsford, Dunstable, Coalbrookdale, Bury St. Edmund's, Woodbridge, Ipswich, Hereford, Doncaster, Bungay, Neath Abbey, Kingsbridge, Charlbury, Cirencester, Leighton Buzzard, Woburn, Woodgate, &c. &c. Letters were received from Manchester, Aylesbury, Truro, Plymouth, North Shields, Cockermouth, Darlington, Modbury, Cambridge, Belfast, Youghal, approving of the object of the Conference; and from Glasgow, disapproving, so far as the Sugar Act of 1846 was concerned, but otherwise approving. The Conference was assisted in its deliberations by missionaries from Berbice, Demerara, Jamaica, Calcutta, and Africa.

The Conference having been called to order, RICHARD PEEK, Esq. was appointed Chairman; and the following resolutions were, after a protracted and animated discussion, adopted unanimously, with five dissentients only to the first, viz. :—

- 1st. That from the evidence laid before this Conference, it is painfully apparent that the Sugar Act of 1846, having led to a great increase of the slave-trade and to the extension of slavery, it is of opinion that measures should be immediately taken to obtain its repeal, in so far as the sugars of slave-holding countries are concerned; and that foreign free-labour sugars only be henceforth admitted on equal terms with those from the British colonies and possessions abroad.
- 2nd. That this Conference is deeply grieved with the information laid before it of the dreadful evils consequent upon the present system of emigration to the British emancipated colonies: That in its judgment every effort should be made by the friends of humanity throughout the country to prevent, in future, any scheme of emigration being carried into effect which is not perfectly free on the part of the emigrants, and unfettered by unjust laws or coercive police regulations.
- 3rd. That in the judgment of this Conference the present laws regulating the relations between masters and servants in the British colonies are open to the most serious objections, inasmuch as they greatly infringe the just rights of the emancipated classes and immigrant labourers: It therefore enters its protest against them; and earnestly calls upon the Government to obtain their repeal, and to substitute in their place the Royal Order in Council regulating contracts, of September the 7th, 1838.

At the close of its proceedings, the Conference directed that a memorial should be addressed to the Premier, Lord John Russell,

embodying the foregoing resolutions; and that an address should be prepared for circulation among the friends of the anti-slavery cause throughout the United Kingdom. The former direction has been complied with; the latter it is now my duty to lay before you.

By the laws of this country, the slave-trade has been declared to be piracy and felony; and the system of slavery to be inherently and essentially unjust. In giving effect to these enactments, the Government has forbidden any of its functionaries residing in foreign slave-holding countries, to hire slaves for domestic purposes; or to administer to the estates of British subjects dying in those countries, any part of which consists of slaves. The Government, moreover, has for the last thirty years been endeavouring, at an immense cost of the national treasure, and the loss of a large number of valuable lives, to suppress the foreign African slave-trade by the employment of its armed cruisers for that purpose. Such being the case, it might have been reasonably expected that it would have refused its sanction to any measure which tended to foster that enormous wickedness, or which was calculated to strengthen and extend the atrocious system of slavery. Up to the year 1846, foreign sugar, the produce of slave-labour, was not permitted to enter the markets of this country for home consumption; foreign sugar, the produce of free-labour, was admitted, the year before, on certificates of origin. To this application of the principles of free-trade no reasonable objection could be advanced; the only regret felt was that such sugar was not at once admitted on equal duties with that from the British plantations and possessions abroad. During the five years which preceded the Act of 1846, the principal slave-holding countries in the new world were in a languishing state; and were willing, in order to have access to the British markets, to make arrangements with this country for the effectual extinction of the slave-trade, and for the ultimate abolition of slavery. A few extracts from undoubted authorities will show this.

The Slave-trade Commissioners at Havana, in a Report dated 1st January, 1844, observe:—"In consequence of the low price of sugar, the planters have been for some time unable to meet their engagements, and are, therefore, unable to make further purchases of labourers. The same cause prevents their putting down of canes, and the making and extension of estates; it was for these purposes principally that new slaves were required." It therefore became necessary that measures should be taken to conciliate the British Government, so as to open a new market in this country for Cuban sugars; and it is everywhere evident on the face of official documents, that the proprietors of estates generally were willing to abandon the slave-trade in order to secure it. The Commissioners say, "Whatever may have been the opinions formerly or elsewhere expressed, we have always felt convinced that the planters were opposed to the slave-trade, in proportion to their interests—according as their estates were sufficiently stocked with labourers. Fresh labourers were required for new plantations, which some few years since were commenced to a great extent; but in the last two years there has been a tendency to the contrary, and though an equal quantity of sugar has been produced, we believe it is to be ascribed only to the use of improved machinery and the facilities of railroad carriage." The Commissioners then go on to enumerate many striking facts in corroboration of their views; and conclude by stating, that among the numerous memorials presented to the Captain-General against the continuance of the slave-trade, "was one from the highly respectable and wealthy house of Drake, Brothers, and Co., setting forth that *they had no expectation of the price of sugar being improved, except by having the English market opened to the produce of the island, where, if this could be effected at a rate even of fifty per cent. above the duty on*

*English colonial sugar, still they should obtain for their produce double the amount they can obtain at present.* On the other hand they stated, that they were apprehensive that the English Government would become irritated at last, and adopt measures prejudicial to the general commerce and prosperity of the island, in the determination to put down a particular reprobated traffic."

Nor was Brazil in a better position, commercially speaking, than the Spanish colonies, nor less disposed to make overtures, or accept conditions in relation to the abandonment of slavery and the slave-trade. Mr. Consul Cowper, referring to this subject in a despatch addressed to Lord Aberdeen, dated Pernambuco, 17th January, 1842, says:—"In this sugar-growing province (Pernambuco) the policy of Her Majesty's Government is a matter of the utmost interest to the proprietors. I have taken considerable pains to inform myself of their feelings on the subject, and I find all the most intelligent anticipating that Her Majesty's Government are awaiting the negotiations for the renewal of the treaty, and will then demand from Brazil, as a *quid pro quo* for the admission of her sugar, the specified mention of some time for the emancipation of her slaves. The proprietors not only seem prepared for, but satisfied with such an arrangement. I have mentioned this with a view of informing your Lordship of the popular impressions on this deeply interesting subject." Mr. Consul Newcomen, in a despatch to Lord Aberdeen, dated Paraiba, February 3, 1845, wrote as follows:—"The subjecting of free-labour sugar to an unequal competition with that produced by slaves is to be deprecated on many grounds. I have already stated that the admission of Brazilian sugar into the English market at a low rate of duty, in the actual state of things, would indubitably give an impetus to the slave-trade." And he adds—"I know many of the best informed Brazilians entertain the opinion expressed on a late occasion, in no private manner, that the Imperial Government must, sooner or later, not only concede to England all she requires towards the full and effectual suppression of the slave-trade, but also bind herself down to the final abolition of slavery throughout the empire at a future period; and that it would be much more politic to do so now, when she may hope for corresponding concessions from Great Britain, than to wait till driven by necessity into granting what she had refused to the dictates of humanity."

Under these circumstances, it is greatly to be deplored that the Government should have opened the British markets to the sugars of Cuba and Brazil. Had it remained firm in the determination to exclude the blood-stained produce of Cuba and Brazil, there can be little doubt but that by this time these countries would have accepted any propositions founded upon their treaties with this country for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade. In the excess, however, of its liberality, and by the combination of political parties usually in a state of hostility with each other, they have now access to the British markets without conditions; and results the most afflicting to the cause of humanity and freedom have followed. Compared with the years 1840 to 1845, the slave-trade has more than doubled during the years 1846 and 1847, with every prospect of a yet larger increase in succeeding years, from the inability, under existing circumstances, of the East and West India sugar-growers being able successfully to compete with those of Brazil and Cuba. The quantity of slave-grown sugar taken for home consumption last year was 38,000 tons; of foreign free-labour sugar, 12,000; together, 50,000. The slave-grown sugars represented the coerced labour, the cruel sufferings, and the mortality, whatever that might be, of 38,000 slaves! but not an ounce of it was really wanted, for in addition to the stock on hand at the commencement of the year, and the 12,000 tons of foreign free-labour sugar taken into consumption, the imports from our East and West India possessions were equal to the entire consumption, stimulated as that was by the lowness of price. The entire amount of sugar taken for home consumption in 1847 was 289,000 tons; the quantity imported from the East and West Indies, 290,000 tons. The plea, therefore, of a deficient supply could not be advanced in support of the Sugar Act of 1846.

The following extract from the *Trade Circular* of Messrs. Drake, Brothers, and Co., of the Havana, dated the 8th of January last, will show the advantage which has resulted to the Cuban planters, from the introduction of their sugars into the British markets. They say:—"The production of 1847 has far exceeded that of any previous year, and the prices obtained by planters have been highly remunerative, that they are enabled to adopt every measure for the further extension of their crops." Another Price-current, subsequent in date, says:—"During the past year the

prices of sugar in our markets were supported at high rates, with but slight and temporary fluctuations, notwithstanding the large crop. This was mainly owing to the unprecedentedly heavy shipments to the United States and Great Britain, aided by a well-sustained inquiry for Spain, with a fair demand for other parts. The shipments for British ports comprised about 167,000 boxes from hence and Matanzas, with an addition of some importance from other parts of the island. The bulk of the exports went forward in the early part of the season, when there was not only the stimulus created by the admission of our sugars for English consumption, but also a general expectation that a large quantity would be required for the use of breweries and distilleries."

The intelligence from Brazil is not less definite. Everywhere, it is asserted, new sugar estates are being opened, and the cultivation of old ones extended, to meet the anticipated demands of the British market.

Such is a bare outline of the facts: It remains only that you should be informed that the cultivation of sugar cannot be carried on in Cuba and Brazil, except by the importation of fresh slaves. Africa must be still further desolated to meet the new demands; and, should the Act of 1846 remain in force, humanity must stand by weeping, that a lawless commerce may glut its avarice, and extend its power. The Conference earnestly invites you to adopt its resolution on this point, and to unite with it in seeking its repeal in so far as slave-grown sugars are concerned.

In reference to African emigration to the British colonies, the Conference learned with astonishment that the principal West India colonies, Jamaica, Trinidad, and British Guiana, had applied to the Government and to Parliament for unrestricted access to the coast of Africa for immigrant labourers. They boldly ask that public means of transport may be provided "for the thousands of slaves brought down by native princes for sale and shipment to the foreign trader; and that it should negotiate with the native princes of Africa, to allow the free emigration of their subjects, and also to ransom their prisoners of war." In other words, they want this country to resume the African slave-trade, to supply them with labour at the cheapest rate, and to enter into competition with the slave-traffickers of Cuba and Brazil. It can require neither facts nor reasoning to convince you, that such a scheme as this, if it were adopted, would greatly extend and aggravate the internal slave-trade in Africa, virtually repeal the laws which are in force against the slave-trade, and afford a most pernicious example to slave-holding countries to supply themselves with nominally free, but really enslaved Africans. In fact, it would again throw open the slave-trade, under a form which no treaty could reach, and no power control. At the present time, Africans from the British settlements are permitted to emigrate to the emancipated colonies. Since the year 1841, upwards of 14,000 have been conveyed from Sierra Leone and St. Helena to Jamaica, Trinidad, and British Guiana: these, added to the Coolies and Europeans introduced into these three colonies since 1834, will make upwards of 80,000; although it is believed that had labour been properly economized, under the direction of a resident proprietary, enough would have been found in them for every necessary and useful purpose. The facts, disclosed in reference to the mortality and the demoralization which have accompanied immigration into the colonies, are truly appalling, and call for an immediate and effectual remedy. As you will perceive by the second resolution, the Conference was not opposed to a perfectly free immigration, unfettered by unjust laws or coercive police regulations; but they were opposed to any scheme of immigration, at the public expense, or which allowed of a disparity of the sexes; and, above all, they were utterly opposed to any immigration from Africa, other than from British settlements, and under Government control. You are, therefore, respectfully urged to join the Conference in their opposition to the propositions of the colonists, and to the plan of drawing labourers from the Kroo coast, where, there is abundant evidence to prove, the people are not free, nor would be permitted, independently of the will of their chiefs, to emigrate to the British colonies.

On the question of colonial legislation the Conference was grieved to learn that the wise and salutary measure of the 7th September, 1838, commonly called the Contract Ordinance, has been virtually repealed, and a series of laws, unjust in principle and oppressive in practice, have been substituted for it, by which the labouring population, especially in British Guiana and Trinidad, have been deprived of their just rights, and a power has been placed in the hands of their employers wholly at variance with

equity and sound policy. To bring back the law of master and servant, such as it was fixed by the Royal Order in Council of the 7th of September, 1838, and to place the administration of justice in the colonies above all suspicion, are matters of prime importance, which should be diligently sought by all the friends of the emancipated classes. The design of the third resolution is to effect this, and your adherence to its recommendation is earnestly solicited.

It would appear, from the statement made in the House of Commons, on Monday the 29th ult., by Lord John Russell, that, as at present advised, the Government does not intend to alter, in any shape, the Sugar Act of 1846; and that, on the 15th or 16th inst., a communication will be made to the House, what measures it intends to propose for the relief of the West Indies. It is earnestly hoped that you will put yourselves into immediate communication with your borough or county members, or both, and urgently press on them the necessity of acting in conformity with the resolutions embodied in this address; and that, further, you will recommend other influential constituents of such members, either to join with you, or separately to address them on these important subjects. It is intended, in the meanwhile, to place a summary of the facts of the case before each Member of Parliament, which may facilitate any communication that either you or your friends may make to them.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours respectfully,

RICHARD PEEK,

*Chairman of the Conference.*

Office of the British and Foreign

Anti-slavery Society, 27, New Broad-st.,

London, 7th June, 1848.

\*\*\* Communications in reply to this Circular may be addressed to the Secretary, Mr. SCOBLE, as above.

#### THE SUGAR ACT OF 1846, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

The following Circular, prepared by direction of the Conference for members of the House of Commons, has been circulated amongst the members of that body, with the addition of members of the House of Lords, and many friends of the anti-slavery cause throughout the country:—

SIR,—I am directed by the Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to lay before you the following statement, and respectfully to solicit your serious attention thereto.

I am, Sir,

Yours respectfully,

JOHN SCOBLE, *Secretary.*

27, New Broad-street, 7th June, 1848.

The two great acts which have tended more than all others to elevate Great Britain in the general estimation of mankind, are those which effected the abolition of the Anglo-African slave-trade in 1807, and the extinction of British colonial slavery in 1834. Until a very recent period, the whole legislation of this country, and no inconsiderable portion of its power and influence, were employed for the two-fold purpose of preventing British subjects, in all parts of the world, from engaging in these criminal practices, and of inducing foreign powers to copy our example in the several countries and colonies subject to their sway. That noble example, combined with the more private and persevering efforts of the abolitionists of this and other countries, has induced several nations to put an end to slavery in their respective possessions; and to awaken the hope, that even those powers which were most deeply implicated in its support, would be inclined to listen to the voice of justice and humanity, and bestow liberty on their long and sorely oppressed slaves.

Unhappily, however, the present Government, with a view of augmenting the quantity of sugar for home consumption, and of increasing the revenue from duties leviable thereon, obtained, in June, 1846, the passing of an Act, which not only allows foreign free-labour sugars to come into competition, in the home markets, with those from the British possessions and plantations abroad, but admits slave-grown sugars also to the same privilege; and provides that, in the year 1851, the differential duties which at

present exist in favour of British sugars shall cease; and that all sugars, without distinction of country or origin, shall be received on equal duties.

So far as sugars, the produce of free-labour, were concerned, the Anti-slavery Committee have always been favourable to their admission on equal terms with those from our East and West India possessions; but considering slave-grown sugars to be the produce of piracy and felony, and to have been obtained by means the most cruel, revolting, and murderous, they could not place them "in the category of free-trade," nor admit them to the same benefits with the produce of legitimate commerce and honest trade. They felt that something was due to the sacred cause of human freedom and of Christian morals in the legislation of this country; and, therefore, they strenuously opposed the measure, through all its stages; and when it was passed, joined the most eminent philanthropists of this country, headed by the late venerable Thomas Clarkson, in a solemn protest against it.

But it was not merely on principle that the Committee opposed the Sugar Act of 1846; they foresaw that its effect would be to give an increased stimulus to the foreign slave-trade, and to extend and strengthen the system of slavery. By opening a new market, and that market the best in the world, for the sugars of Cuba and Brazil, they were persuaded that the languishing commerce of these countries would be revived; that the planters and merchants would be encouraged to increase their operations; and that, as a means to accomplish this, they would import fresh victims from Africa, and redouble the application of the whip to extort the requisite amount of labour from unwilling slaves.

The pain which the Committee felt on the passing of the Act of 1846, was heightened by the fact, that had the Government stood firm to the policy of 1845, they might have secured the total extinction of the slave-trade; and, probably, the abolition of slavery itself, both in the Spanish colonies and Brazil, in return for a free access for their produce to the British markets; whereas now, unless Parliament reverts to the policy of 1845, there is not the slightest reason to expect that either the slave-trade or slavery will be abandoned.

The following official statements of the condition of Cuba and Brazil, previously to 1846, deserve the most serious consideration; and indicate the best mode of dealing with them in relation to slavery and the slave-trade.

#### CONDITION OF CUBA PREVIOUS TO 1846.

The slave-trade commissioners at Havana, in a despatch dated 1st January, 1844, observe:—"In consequence of the low price of sugar, the planters have been for some time unable to meet their engagements, and are therefore unable to make further purchases of labourers. The same cause prevents their putting down of canes, and the making and extension of estates; it was for these purposes principally that new slaves were required." It, therefore, became necessary that measures should be taken to conciliate the British Government, so as to open a new market in this country for Cuban sugars; and it is everywhere evident on the face of official documents, that the proprietors of estates and mercantile houses were willing to abandon the slave-trade, to secure it. The commissioners say, "Whatever may have been the opinions formerly expressed, we have always felt convinced that the planters were opposed to the slave-trade, in proportion to their interests—according as their estates were sufficiently stocked with labourers. Fresh labourers were required for new plantations, which some few years since were commenced to a great extent; but in the last two years there has been a tendency to the contrary, and though an equal quantity of sugar has been produced, we believe it is to be ascribed only to the use of improved machinery and the facilities of railroad carriage." The commissioners then go on to enumerate many striking facts in corroboration of their views; and conclude by stating, that among the numerous memorials presented

#### CONDITION SINCE THE PASSING OF THE ACT OF 1846.

The passing of the sugar bill of 1846, was received in Cuba with tumultuous joy; Havana was illuminated; and slave-property advanced at least twenty-five per cent. From a state of great depression the colony began to revive, and the effect of a single year's prosperity is detailed in the following terms by the house of Drake, Brothers, and Co. In their trade circular, of the 8th of January last, they say:—"The production of 1847 has far exceeded that of any previous year, and the prices obtained by planters have been so highly remunerative, that they are enabled to adopt every means for the further extension of their crops." Another trade circular, subsequent in date, says:—"During the past year, the prices of sugar in our markets were supported at high rates, with but slight and temporary fluctuations, notwithstanding the large crop. This was mainly owing to the unprecedentedly heavy shipments to the United States and Great Britain, aided by a well-sustained inquiry for Spain, with a fair demand for other parts. The shipments for British ports comprised about 167,000 boxes from hence and Matanzas, with an addition of some importance from other parts of the island. The bulk of the exports went forward in the early part of the season, when there was not only the stimulus created by the admission of our sugars for English consumption, but also a general expectation that a large quantity would be required for the use of breweries and distilleries." To show the progress of sugar cultivation in Cuba, the commis-

to the Captain-General against the continuance of the slave-trade, "was one from the highly respectable and wealthy house of Drake, Brothers, and Co., setting forth that they had no expectation of the price of sugar being improved, except by having the English market opened to the produce of the island, where, if this could be effected at a rate even of fifty per cent. above the duty on English colonial sugar, still they should obtain for their produce double the amount they can obtain at present. On the other hand they stated, that they were apprehensive that the English Government would become irritated at last, and adopt measures prejudicial to the general commerce and prosperity of the island, in the determination to put down a particular reprobated traffic."—*Slave-trade Papers, 1844, Class A., p. 111.*

#### CONDITION OF BRAZIL PREVIOUS TO 1846.

Mr. Consul Cowper, referring to this subject in a despatch addressed to Lord Aberdeen, dated Pernambuco, 17th of January, 1842, says:—"In this sugar-growing province (Pernambuco), the policy of Her Majesty's Government is a matter of the utmost interest to the proprietors. I have taken considerable pains to inform myself of their feelings on the subject, and I find all the most intelligent anticipating that Her Majesty's Government are awaiting the negotiations for the renewal of the treaty, and will then demand from Brazil, as a *quid pro quo* for the admission of her sugar, the specified mention of some time for the emancipation of her slaves. The proprietors not only seem prepared for, but satisfied with such an arrangement. I have mentioned this with a view of informing your lordship of the popular impressions on this deeply interesting subject."—*Slave-trade Papers, 1842, Class B., p. 437.*

Mr. Consul Newcomen, in a despatch to Lord Aberdeen, dated Paraiba, February 3, 1845, wrote as follows:—"The subjecting of free-labour sugar to an unequal competition with that produced by slaves is to be deprecated on many grounds. I have already stated that the admission of Brazilian sugar into the English market at a low rate of duty, in the actual state of things, would indubitably give an impetus to the slave-trade." And he adds—"I know many of the best informed Brazilians entertain the opinion expressed on a late occasion in no private manner, that the Imperial Government must, sooner or later, not only concede to England all she requires towards the full and effectual suppression of the slave-trade, but also bind herself down to the final abolition of slavery throughout the empire at a future period; and that it would be much more politic to do so now, when she may hope for corresponding concessions from Great Britain, than to wait till driven by necessity into granting what she had refused to the dictates of humanity."—*Slave-trade Papers, 1845, Class B., pp. 440, 441.*

sioners, under date the 1st of January, 1847, observe:—"In our former annual reports, we have always submitted our views on the slave-trade as connected with the production of the island, showing how that in the years 1835, 1836, and 1837, the exports of sugar, though much larger than in former years, only averaged about 500,000 boxes, or 100,000 tons per annum: they have since been constantly increasing until, in 1844, they reached the enormous amount of 847,000 boxes from this port and Matanzas, although the hurricane of 1844 affected the cane so much as to reduce the exports in the following year to no less than 366,000 boxes." In the year 1846, the exports from Havana and Matanzas amounted to 795,095 boxes, and in 1847, they reached the enormous amount of 1,021,056 boxes.

The following comparative statement will show the effect of the Sugar Act of 1846, in drawing the sugars of Cuba and Porto Rico to the British markets:—1845, imports 348,529 cwt., taken for home consumption thirty-one cwt.; 1846, imports 609,670 cwt., taken for home consumption 259,622 cwt.; 1847, imports 1,157,299 cwt., taken for home consumption 486,552 cwt.

#### CONDITION SUBSEQUENTLY TO THE ACT OF 1846.

Private information from Brazil is not less definite than that from Cuba, of the prosperity resulting to the planters from the Act of 1846. In the sugar districts, new estates are being opened, and the cultivation of old ones extended, to meet the anticipated demands of the British markets. The provinces in which there has been the greatest increase in sugar cultivation during the last two years are Bahia and Pernambuco.

The following table will show the quantities of sugar imported into the United Kingdom from Brazil:—1845, imports 325,359 cwt., entered for home consumption 5 cwt.; 1846, imports 302,067 cwt., entered for home consumption 109,405 cwt.; 1847 imports 701,693 cwt., entered for home consumption 202,486 cwt.

#### THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE PREVIOUS TO 1846.

"Under the circumstances before narrated, the slave-trade had received a considerable check. For instance, whilst, from 1835 to 1840, the number of slaves imported into the Spanish colonies and Brazil amounted to 101,900 per annum, (the proportions being 69,000 for Brazil, and 29,000 for Cuba,) it is found that from the year 1840 to 1845, the yearly average importation was reduced to 32,000."—*See First Report Slave-trade, pp. 220, 221.*

#### THE TRAFFIC SUBSEQUENTLY TO THE ACT OF 1846.

"The impulse given to the slave-trade by the Sugar Act of 1846, was immediately felt. The traffic doubled in that year, the importation into Brazil and Cuba having reached to 64,000. In 1847, they amounted to 63,000. Senhor Cliffe, who gave evidence before the Sugar and Coffee Planting Committee, estimates the imports of African slaves into Brazil, during the year 1847, at 72,000; other accounts carry the number as high as 80,000. It should be observed with respect to Cuba, that the import of slaves in 1846 did not exceed 2,000, and in 1847 not more than 1,000, the bulk of the shipments from Africa having gone to Brazil; but the smallness of the importations into Cuba may be easily accounted for. In October, 1846, a dreadful hurricane swept over that island, which destroyed one-half of the sugar crop, and nearly the whole of the coffee estates, as may be seen by a letter from the Duke of Sotomayor to Lord Aberdeen, in February, 1845; upwards of 100,000 negroes on coffee estates were thrown on the market, to be transferred to whatever other purpose they were wanted, and these have mostly found their way to the sugar plantations."—*First Report Slave-trade, p. 221, and First Report of Sugar and Coffee Planting Committee, pp. 136—149.*

From the foregoing statement it is clear that, owing to commercial causes, the slave-trade had sensibly declined, during the five years ending in 1845; and that from that time it has doubled in extent, independently of the large supply of slaves furnished the Cuban sugar planters by the abandonment of the coffee estates subsequently to the hurricane of 1844. The latest accounts from the Coast of Africa and Brazil show that the slave-trade is on the increase. On the coast of Africa, slavers are literally swarming; from Brazil, the last packet brought intelligence that, in the short period of two months, 5,000 slaves had been disembarked at Bahia, and 7,000 at Rio de Janeiro, Campos, and Rio Grande. The principal cause of this is the increased demand for sugar in England. Thus whilst, on the one hand, this country has spent twenty millions or more, in its efforts to abolish the Foreign African slave-trade, and twenty millions to secure the abolition of slavery in its own colonies, and has exhausted the arts of diplomacy in its efforts to secure the co-operation of foreign powers in the suppression of crimes which have so long desolated Africa, and afflicted mankind; it has, on the other, by the Sugar Act of 1846, furnished them with direct incentives to the perpetuation and increase of these crimes, with all their attendant horrors. This grievous inconsistency ought to be immediately remedied.

It has been alleged by some of the advocates of the Act of 1846, that the British sugar-growing possessions could not furnish an adequate supply of sugar to the consumers of this country, on reasonable terms; and that, therefore, its enactment was necessary. Looking at the question in this low point of view, and merging the higher questions of humanity and freedom in the sordid calculations of commerce, it appears that during the last year, independently of the stock on hand at its commencement, and the importation of foreign free-labour sugar, the quantity received from the British East and West Indies was 290,000 tons, whereas the consumption, stimulated as it was, to an enormous extent, by unprecedentedly low prices, did not exceed 289,000 tons—a clear proof that the argument drawn from an alleged insufficient supply is of no value when tested by facts.

Another argument has been used, and on which great stress has been laid, viz., that in the event of this country admitting the free-grown sugars of other countries, it is bound by treaty stipulations to admit the slave-grown sugars of Cuba and Brazil on equal terms with them. But how stands the fact? With Brazil this country has no commercial treaty, and is under no obligation to receive its produce on "the most favoured terms." Spain claims the privilege under the treaty of Utrecht; but no one can read the masterly reply of the Earl of Aberdeen to the demand of the Duke of Sotomayor on this head, without being satisfied that that country has

no ground on which it can fairly rest its pretensions. Whilst, however, the British Government insisted upon a rigid observance of the treaties in this case, its simple object was "to avoid, by every means in their power, giving any encouragement, however indirect, to an extension of the African slave-trade." "The Spanish Government," said Lord Aberdeen, "well know how thoroughly the abolition of that trade has become a national object with the people of this country, and how earnestly every person charged with the administration of the government in England has pursued it. They know that although nearly every Christian government has united with Great Britain for that end, the accomplishment is still far off. They also know, that the treaties and enactments which have been framed against the slave-trade have hitherto entirely failed to counteract the deeply-rooted influence and greedy daring of the slave-dealers in the island of Cuba. The undersigned will not prolong this note, by inquiring to what cause this is attributable; it is a subject which has too often occupied the correspondence of the two governments; but the fact itself will not be disputed, and that fact alone will explain the reluctance of Her Majesty's Government to extend to the West India colonies of Spain the favour which they have gladly accorded to her possessions in the East; but which in Cuba could not have failed to give a great additional stimulus to the guilty exertions of the slave-dealer. This has been the sole motive of Her Majesty's Government, in adhering strictly to the letter of the treaties between Great Britain and Spain. Apart from this consideration, they have no wish more warmly at heart than that the two countries should in commercial, as in other matters, be united with the closest ties of friendship and interest."—*Par. Pap.*, No. 38, 1846, pp. 22-30.

From the recent declaration made by the Premier, Lord John Russell, in the House of Commons, it would appear that the present Government stand committed to the policy of the Act of 1846; but it is for Parliament to decide, whether that policy shall continue, now that its grievous consequences have become so plainly apparent; and to Parliament the friends of Africa and her oppressed people would earnestly appeal, in the hope that that Act may be repealed, in so far as sugars, the produce of slaves, are concerned. Should the legislature, however, decide otherwise, then, to use the language of the slave-trade commissioners in Jamaica, "We venture to express our alarm lest the application of free-trade principles to slave-trade products may lead to the positive protection of crimes the most atrocious, and the most relentless oppression, with which the history of the world has ever been disgraced." On the other hand, they say, "If the measures now in progress towards the establishment of a system of pure equality could be so far suspended, as to afford an opportunity for the opening of fresh negotiations with the Governments of those countries where sugar is produced by unrequited toil, we have some reason to believe, from what we have seen and heard on the subject, that the sugar planters themselves, in one at least of those countries (Cuba), rather than forego the admission of their produce for consumption in England, would be ready to recommend to their own Government to spare no sacrifice in order to secure the benefit they so highly appreciate, were it even to amount to a measure of immediate and complete emancipation, which, after all, would be the surest and most effective means for the suppression of the slave-trade."—*First Report of Committee on Slave-trade*, 1848, p. 270.

The resolutions of the committee on the subject, which were appended, will be found at p. 108 of our last number.

#### COLLOQUY BETWEEN MR. COBDEN AND LORD PALMERSTON.

The following colloquy took place between Mr. Cobden and Lord Palmerston, on the examination of the latter before the "Select Committee, appointed by the House of Commons, to consider the best means which Great Britain can adopt for providing for the final extinction of the slave-trade:"—

**Mr. Cobden:** "Your lordship has stated that it is the duty of England to suppress the slave-trade; it is attributed to us by many foreign countries that we are interested in doing so; is it your lordship's opinion that it is our interest as well as our duty, apart from the interest of humanity?"

**Lord Palmerston:** "I think, generally speaking, with regard

to national concerns, that, whatever is the duty of a country, that is also its interest. Taking the more limited and narrow view of the matter, I certainly think that, as far as regards our West Indian colonies, a great injury would be done to them if the slave-trade to Cuba and to Brazil were permitted to be carried on to the full possibility of its extent."

**Mr. Cobden:** "Do you consider that to be a part of the motive for our maintaining this force and incurring this expense?"

**Lord Palmerston:** "That is no part of the motive which I think ought to influence the Government, because I think the Government ought to be influenced by higher considerations; but I think that that motive ought to be borne in mind by a class of men who are supposed now, from erroneous views of their own interest, to be endeavouring to induce Parliament and the Government to put an end to the measures for the prevention of the slave-trade."

**Mr. Cobden:** "Assuming that it is simply from motives of humanity, do you think it a legitimate mode of disposing of the resources of this country?"

**Lord Palmerston:** "It has so been considered at former times. After the peace of 1815, it will be in the recollection of the Committee, that very large sums of money were paid by the willing assent of Parliament to Portugal and to Spain, to induce those countries to concur in treaties for the prospective abolition of the slave-trade. The people of England have for a great number of years taken a very lively interest in this question, and it was thought to be a fitting and proper application of public money to give £20,000,000 sterling to the West Indians for the abolition of slavery. I should think, that from the same motive, and upon the same principles, the people of this country might think it was not an improper application of the revenue of England to put an end to a great crime,—a crime of which England was one of the principal authors, and in regard to which this nation has some atonement to make."

**Mr. Cobden:** "Does your lordship think, that beyond the abolition of slavery in our own colonies, and giving a good example to the world, it is our duty also, by armed cruisers, and by paying subsidies to other countries, to induce them to do the same act of justice to their slaves?"

**Lord Palmerston:** "'Duty' is a word of many interpretations. I do consider it to be the moral duty of this country,—a duty which this country owes to itself, certainly not to any other nation. But we are not paying any subsidies at present to other countries for the purpose."

**Mr. Cobden:** "You consider that it is the duty of England to interfere to prevent persons in America from doing an act of injustice to natives of Africa?"

**Lord Palmerston:** "I think, considering the high position which this nation holds in the world, and the effect which our example, and our conduct and our measures have upon mankind at large, that where we can do a great good by a comparatively small effort, it is, upon general principles, our duty not to omit the exertion."

**Mr. Cobden:** "Would not that principle, if carried out, lead us to interfere with other countries to put down other acts of injustice;—for instance, supposing one nation abolished the punishment of death, would it not be a legitimate effort of that Government to interfere with other nations which had not done so, to induce them to follow the example?"

**Lord Palmerston:** "It would no doubt be competent for the Government of a country that thought the punishment of death a punishment which ought to be abolished, to use the same methods to induce other nations to make the change which have been used by England in regard to the slave-trade. Of course it must be remembered, that all our preventive measures are founded upon treaty compacts entered into spontaneously by other nations. We exercise no authoritative power; everything we do is founded upon authority given to us by treaties voluntarily entered into with us by other countries; and, if any one Government proposed to another to pass laws to abolish the punishment of death, it would be as fit and fair a subject of negotiation between Government and Government as the abolition of the slave-trade, or any other measure tending to the interests of humanity."—*First Report of Slave-trade Committee*, 1848, pp. 18-19.

## THE SLAVE-TRADE.

The latest official information printed in relation to the slave-trade will be found comprehended in the following documents:—

*Lord Howden to Viscount Palmerston.*

"Rio de Janeiro, 9th February, 1848.

"I have the honour to inform your lordship that, according to the best estimation I have been able to make, above 60,000 Africans have been imported as slaves into Brazil during the year 1847.

"There is no doubt that this frightful number has been greatly occasioned by the concentration of the English naval force in the waters of the Plate; at the same time I learn that never have the slave-dealers so perfected all the appurtenances and appliances of their vile trade as at present; never have they so organised the whole range of shore-signals from St. Katharine's to Bahia, nor established such facilities for landing their cargoes as now; and I am afraid I may add, with perfect truth, that never was the toleration, not to say co-operation, of this Government more open than at the present moment.

"It is a well known fact here that a vessel belonging to this port made five voyages to the Coast during the last year, and landed in safety all her cargoes. At a moderate computation this single ship must have brought from 2,000 to 3,000 slaves."

*Mr. Consul Porter to Viscount Palmerston.*

"Bahia, 31st December, 1847.

"It appears from the slave returns which I have had the honour to transmit to your lordship, that 3,500 slaves have been landed in the vicinity of this city during the quarter ending this day, being the largest importation that has taken place during a like period for the last eight years.

"The enclosed statement shows the number of slaves annually imported into this province since the year 1840, from which it appears that the slave-trade is increasing in a great degree, which may be accounted for by the great temptation now held out to individuals to embark in this traffic, as small shares can be obtained in the companies established here for that purpose.

"Vessels are frequently arriving from the Mediterranean and the United States, which are bought by the above-mentioned companies, and sent to the coast of Africa under the flag of the nation to which they originally belonged, changing it to that of Brazil when in the act of receiving slaves on board.

"A lamentable instance of this practice occurred lately with the American brig *George*, which sailed hence for Africa, on the 29th August last, returning hither on the 16th instant, under Brazilian colours, and the name of *Tentativa*, landing a cargo of 726 slaves in a miserable state of starvation, 111 poor creatures having perished on the passage from deficiency of water and provisions."

Statement of the number of Slaves imported into the Province of Bahia, during the years 1840 to 1847.

	SLAVES.
1840.....	1,413
1841.....	1,470
1842.....	2,520
1843.....	3,111
1844.....	6,501
1845.....	5,582
1846.....	7,354
1847.....	10,064

*Sir Charles Hotham to the Board of Admiralty.*

"*Penelope*, at Sea, April 7th, 1847.

"On rounding Cape Lopez, the character of the slave-trade changes, and the speculation on the part of the Brazilian is founded on the principle of employing vessels of little value, to be crowded to excess with slaves; it is said that one arrival in four pays the adventure; here it is, therefore, that the traffic assumes its most horrid form: at this moment, the *Penelope* (that was the vessel on board which he was) has in tow a slaver, of certainly not more than sixty tons, in which 312 human beings were stowed; the excess of imagination cannot depict a scene more revolting."

*Messrs. D. Turnbull and A. B. Hamilton to Lord Palmerston.*

"Jamaica, January 1, 1848.

"The rumours which reach us of the revival of slave-trade practices in these seas are of too vague a nature to enable us to report on them

so specifically as we could wish; but they are, nevertheless, sufficiently definite to have induced Commodore Lambert (who is now on his way to England) to detach two of the ships of the squadron under his orders, from the routine duties of the station, for the first time since the establishment of the court of which we are members, for the special purpose of cruising against the slave-trade. We fear, however, there is no room to doubt that the new markets which have been opened for the sale of the tropical staples produced by the labour of slaves, together with the diminishing numbers of the servile population in those countries where compulsory labour is excessive, and where the sexes are known to be unequally distributed, must have so sharpened the stimulus already in operation for the extension of the traffic, as to make its entire suppression, by the means heretofore employed, an undertaking all but hopeless.

"If, after the landing of the victims in those countries at this side of the Atlantic, where the trade is still unhappily tolerated, the possessors could be made insecure in the enjoyment of their illicit acquisition; and, if the onus of proving a lawful possession could, in every case, be thrown on the slave-master, by some such method as that which was pointed out in the negotiation which your lordship caused to be opened with the Government of Her Catholic Majesty in the year 1840, it humbly appears to us that the high price of slave property, which is the true and only provocative to the African trade, would be so diminished by the falling off in the demand, as to cut down the profits of the importers below the point at which it ceases to become a desirable channel for the employment of capital and industry; and, that point once accomplished, the causes known to be at work in Cuba, Porto Rico, and Brazil, in hastening the decay of the existing population, would speedily redress the difference in the cost of the production of the staples, of which the proprietors of the soil in the British West Indies now so loudly complain; the cultivation of the sugar cane by compulsory labour would cease to be profitable; the British consumer would obtain his supplies at a moderate rate, and the doctrines of free-trade would become as reasonably applicable to the introduction of tropical produce as to that of every other commodity; whereas, at present, the admission into our markets of slave-grown and free-grown sugar on equal terms, may possibly be exposed to the charge of assimilating the fruits of the industry of the smuggler, the highwayman, and the pirate, with that of the farmer, or the manufacturer, who carries on his business in a lawful manner, and contributes his full share to the exigencies of the State.

"If the measures now in progress towards the establishment of a system of pure and simple equality could be so far suspended as to afford an opportunity for the opening of fresh negotiations with the Governments of those countries where sugar is produced by unrequited toil, we have some reason to believe, from what we have seen or heard on the subject, that the sugar planters themselves, in one, at least, of these countries, rather than forego the admission of their produce for consumption in England, would be ready to recommend to their own Government to spare no sacrifice in order to secure the benefit they so highly appreciate, were it even to amount to a measure of immediate and complete emancipation, which, after all, would be the surest and most effective means for the suppression of the slave-trade. But if the present opportunity should be lost, we venture to express our alarm lest the application of free-trade principles to slave-trade products may lead to the positive protection of crimes the most atrocious, and the most relentless oppression, with which the history of the world has ever been disgraced."—*First Report Slave-trade*, 1848, pp. 2, and 270-3.

## COERCIVE LEGISLATION FOR THE COLONIES.

Lord Grey is determined to leave no means untried to compel the labour of the Creoles and immigrants in the British Colonies, after having allowed or recommended enactments of a severe and stringent character; and finding that these are inadequate to effect the object he has in view, he intends to proceed further. The pretence for this is, that Coolies and Africans, being either "savage or half civilized," need to be restrained—a gentle word for coerced—for their own benefit. Here are Lord Grey's present opinions, embodied in a despatch to Lord Harris, under date the 15th of April, 1848:—

"I have considered, with the attention which it so well deserves, that portion of your lordship's despatch (accompanying the Blue Book) No. 21, of 21st February last, which relates to the immigrant labourers, and especially the Coolies.

"My acknowledgments are due to your lordship for the efforts you

have made to give effect to that scheme of regulation embodied in the immigration Ordinance, No. 9, of 1847, which I had hoped you would find to be a substitute more or less adequate for the rules you had yourself established, and which I desired you to withdraw. It is exceedingly painful to me to learn that this law, though seconded by your lordship's zealous efforts, and by the order for the prevention of vagrancy, passed by Her Majesty in Council, on 7th September, 1838, and the proclamation for the prevention of squatting, issued by you on 22nd June, 1847, has been ineffectual, and has not succeeded in preventing the Coolies from falling into fatal and dissolute ways of life; so that great numbers of them have ended by dying in the public hospitals, and not a few by the waysides, and in the woods.

"That this result should have been difficult, if not impossible to prevent, renders it a subject of satisfaction that the immigration of Coolies has been brought to a close, and tends to show that no encouragement should be given to the introduction into Trinidad of any immigrants who resemble them in character and habits. It is possible, indeed, that the code of Coolie regulations proposed by you might have been more successful than the Ordinance, No. 9, of 1847; and the primary objection that I took to it, namely, that it had no legal validity, might have been obviated by the enactment of an ordinance; but rules which would have confined the Coolie to the estate on which he was employed, which would have prevented his changing his employer without certificates of discharge, issuable by that employer, and which would have established an uniform rate of wages for all labourers, whether good or bad, in order to prevent competitors for labour from inducing the labourers to seek a change of employers; such rules could not be enforced without a violation of the principles on which free labour is ordinarily regulated, nor without running the risk of great abuses. It is possible that the abuses would have occurred but seldom, and that they would have been a far less evil than the vice and suffering on the part of the Coolies, to which their unrestrained condition has given birth; but we have to bear in mind the sentiments to which the exposure of even one gross example of abuse might give occasion here, and the obstruction to all immigration, which might be the consequence, not only in Trinidad, but throughout the sugar colonies; and I doubt not that your lordship will perceive the serious difficulties under which we labour in the treatment of immigrants belonging to savage or half civilized races, whose unfitness for unrestrained liberty is not generally understood or acknowledged in this country.

"Notwithstanding these difficulties I am fully prepared to support your lordship in the enactment of laws for placing the immigrant labourers under strict and even severe discipline, provided that the power to enforce it is placed in the hands of the magistracy and not of the masters; and I beg to suggest to you whether the Governor and Council might not with advantage exercise the power which they now possess of enacting a vagrant law, more stringent in its provisions than that enacted by Her Majesty in Council on 7th September, 1838."

The Coolie regulations, referred to in the foregoing extract, we showed, at the time they were drawn up by Major Fagan, and sanctioned by Lord Harris, were not only without legal validity, but were contrary to law, and that, were they suffered to be acted upon, they must be regarded as tantamount to the re-enactment of slavery; and on this ground they were, we doubt not, disallowed. Are they now to become law?

#### TREATMENT OF THE COOLIES IN TRINIDAD.

The following extract of a despatch from Lord Harris to Earl Grey, dated Trinidad, March 8, 1848, will show the treatment which the Coolies experience at the hands of some of the planters. We would call especial attention to those parts of the extract which we have put in *italics*; and are happy to find Lord Harris adopts our view, that those who want immigrants should pay for them:—

"Your lordship will have gathered, from my annual report accompanying the Blue Book, that in my opinion alterations and modifications are required in the plan hitherto adopted respecting the Indian and other immigrants, and I have no doubt that Major Fagan had good grounds for the charges he made, though he may probably have expressed himself in stronger terms than the circumstances required.

"It is frequently very difficult to arrive at the truth with respect to the differences which occur as to the non-payment of wages, but cases in which there were strong reasons for supposing that the Coolies had not received the full amount due to them, have come before me. I speak not of the present time, because the non-payment of wages is now almost universal, from the inability of the planters to procure money.

"Other cases of great neglect have also come to my notice. One I may mention, in which it was reported to me that a number of Coolies were in a very wretched condition on an estate in a distant part of the island. I immediately ordered them to be inspected, and, if the report

proved true, to be sent to the hospital in Port of Spain. In consequence, between thirty and forty were forwarded, and a more wretched set of beings I never beheld, all in a state of starvation, and more or less of disease; though every care was taken of them after their arrival, scarcely any survived. As far as I could learn, they had received neither wages, clothing, or medical aid, and but the smallest modicum of food. This is the worst instance which has come to my knowledge; but there have been numerous cases in which great neglect has been shown. It would appear so palpably the interest of proprietors, looking at the matter even in the lowest point of view, viz., as to pecuniary return, to take proper care of the immigrants, that a stranger to the facts will hardly credit the negligence which has been manifested in this respect.

"From all that I have witnessed, and from the statements which I have received, my original opinion that a strict government surveillance should be kept up has been strongly confirmed; and I have been led also to doubt whether it be possible that immigration can be advantageously carried on as a public enterprise at the general expense. Where such is the case, the Government is obliged to distribute the immigrants on their arrival fairly and impartially; but on acting thus, it is impossible for it to secure proper treatment for them; and it will happen that on some estates every attention will be shown, and on others none, as has been clearly proved already in the case of the Coolies. On some estates they have turned out admirably, and the proprietors prefer them either to Creoles or Africans.

"But if private individuals are permitted to provide immigrants for themselves, at their own risk and expense, there is a certainty that the attempt will be made only by men of some capital, who possess the means of supporting and paying them, whose interest it will be to take the very best care of them, and whose employment of numbers of labourers is likely to prove of benefit to the community generally."—*Par. Pap.* No. 399, 1848, p. 192.

#### FACTS CONNECTED WITH IMMIGRATION INTO THE BRITISH COLONIES.

In the series of papers which have recently been laid before Parliament, some light is thrown on the awful mortality which has accompanied the importation of foreign labourers into the British colonies. To read the rules which have been laid down by the Government for conducting it, one might suppose that every precaution which human ingenuity could suggest, had been resorted to, to secure it from abuse. It is now clear, however, that whether immigration be carried on at the expense of the planters, and under their direct management, or whether it be conducted under the surveillance of the Government and at the public expense, it presents the same general results—namely, enormous expense, horrible immorality, and a vast loss of life. As usual, under such circumstances, responsibility is shifted from one party to another, and he that is last blamed is sure to make out a case in his defence. Then, if blame rests nowhere, the evils complained of must attach to the system itself; and the sooner it is abandoned the better will it be for the general welfare of the colonies, the interests of morality, and the preservation of human life.

Returning, however, to the papers recently laid before Parliament, we find that the mortality on the voyage connected with the importation of 4,566 Coolies into Jamaica, was 256. In the first six months of their arrival, the mortality was 190. Of 15,699 Madeirans introduced into Guiana from 1841 to 1847, not more remained alive than 7,969, in October of the latter year. Of 7,673 Coolies imported into the colony from 1845 to 1847, 1,514 were dead. At the close of the year, of 67,993 Coolies introduced into Mauritius from 1843 to 1847 inclusive, the mortality on the voyage was 1,279; in the colonial hospital, 295; and, after entering service, 6,208; in all, 7,777 deaths. With respect to Trinidad, there are no general returns of the mortality of the immigrants, but we find that in the case of one cargo of Portuguese, amounting to 200, not less than ninety-one died within the first six months after their arrival; and that with respect to two other cargoes, though "there has not been the same mortality among them, many have suffered severely, especially those on estates."

In relation to African immigrants we learn that, on the first trip of H. M. S. *Grouler*, from Sierra Leone to British Guiana, with 476 liberated Africans on board, twenty died on the voyage; on her second trip from Sierra Leone to Trinidad, with a cargo of 445 Africans, forty-six died on the voyage. The private traders, licensed by Government, show the following mortality:—The *Amity Hall*, with a cargo of 277 Africans, lost thirty-seven on the voyage; the *Morayshire*, with 159 Africans, lost five on her trip the *Arabian*, with 206 Africans, lost twenty-two on the voyage.

The total number of liberated Africans embarked at Sierra Leone, on board these vessels for the West Indies, was 1,623, of whom, there died on the voyage 130. It appears also from the *Guiana Times* of the 15th of May, that of three cargoes of liberated Africans, being "somewhere about 400 souls, 86 died during the voyage, and forty more in the public hospital of the colony." With respect to the two cargoes of liberated Africans taken by the *Growler* to British Guiana and Trinidad, we have specific accounts of the mortality, viz.—First trip, deaths on the voyage, twenty; in the colonial hospital, ten; and on the estates, between the 10th of August and the 31st of October, 1847, forty-six; in all, seventy-six. Second trip, deaths on the voyage, forty-six; in the colonial hospital, fifty-one; and on the estates, thirty-nine; in all, 136; and this frightful mortality took place within a period of little more than two months!

On the mere ground of humanity, it must strike every one, that so frightful a mortality as these returns show, demands the gravest consideration; and that any scheme of immigration which involves so deplorable a waste of human life, with all the disease and affliction which it involves, ought not to be tolerated by Government, or assisted out of the public funds.

### The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 1st, 1848.

The second attempt of the Government to effect a settlement of the Sugar Duties has nearly issued in their overthrow. A majority of fifteen only, in a House of 505, in favour of their plan, which will be found explained in another part of the *Reporter*, has just saved them; but that majority could not have been secured had not Sir Robert Peel, Sir James Graham, and others of their school of politics, assisted by Mr. Cobden, Mr. George Thompson, and men of their views, come to the rescue.

So far as the question debated involved a contest between the Free-traders and the Protectionists,—so far as it referred merely to West India interests,—so far as it related only to a new adjustment of the Sugar Duties, it was of secondary importance in our eyes; but, as it embraced considerations intimately affecting the freedom of millions of our fellow-creatures, the innocent victims of the atrocious slave-trade, or the brutal cruelties of slavery, it possessed an overwhelming interest in our estimation. In our judgment, the real point in debate, however much it was hidden from view or evaded by the leading speakers, was, whether freedom of commerce, as interpreted in the present day, or the freedom of mankind, should be preferred. So far as the House of Commons is concerned, it decided a second time that the fruits of piracy and felony shall be taken and deemed equally honourable with the fruits of honest industry and legitimate commerce, and, as such, be entitled to equal privileges in the British markets. We deplore this decision, not only as manifestly inconsistent with the past legislation of the country against slavery and the slave-trade, but as involving a fearful amount of responsibility, both on the part of the individuals who have given it their high sanction, and on the nation at large.

It is not for us to sit in judgment on the motives which have influenced the majority of the House of Commons in the vote of yesterday; but we feel assured its effect, unless providentially prevented, will be disastrous to the general question of abolition, and on the slave-holders of all countries, who will thence argue either the complete failure of emancipation in the British colonies, or find in it a plea for the continuance of their hateful system. What care they for the eloquent denunciations of Sir Robert Peel? What care they for his splendid declamation and embellished rhetoric, if he proffer them the golden bribe, and, in effect, tell them that the British public cannot do without their blood-stained produce? The hon. baronet admits that the Act of 1846, to which, on political grounds only, he gave his support, has stimulated the slave-trade; he deeply regrets that his Act of 1845, which excluded slave-grown sugars, had not been allowed to remain in force; but as the distinction between free and slave-grown sugars, created by that Act, had been destroyed, he is prepared to sustain the Government proposition with, perhaps, certain modifications, which we presume he will move in committee. So much for consistency. Lord John Russell contents himself with saying that, "if the slavery in Cuba and Brazil is to be abolished, it will be abolished all the

sooner if we do not make it a matter of tariff and regulation—if we say we have abolished slavery ourselves, we are free from any stain of that kind; we don't enquire into the institutions of foreign countries; we wish for freedom to prevail, but we trust to the strength of the cause, and leave it to other countries to decide for themselves the manner of effecting it." Strange language this, from a man who, it appears to us, is doing all he can to build up and strengthen, by fiscal regulations, a system of blood and iniquity, which has no parallel in the annals of human crime; stranger still that, with such views, he consents to the employment of armed cruisers for the suppression of the slave-trade. Let the noble lord be consistent; repeal the Act of Parliament under which British men-of-war capture Brazilian slavers; destroy the various treaties with Foreign Powers for the suppression of the slave-trade; or boldly tell them that so long as they cherish the institution of slavery, so long as they traffic in human beings, you cannot and will not consent to receive their unholy produce, or stimulate them to fresh crimes against humanity and against God.

The only parties in the recent debate who have done justice to particular departments of the anti-slavery question are, Sir E. N. Buxton, Sir R. H. Inglis, and Mr. George Thompson. We heartily thank these gentlemen for the services which they have rendered; but neither of them has represented the doctrine of the Anti-slavery Society—that to obtain the two great ends of an abundant supply of cheap sugar, and to discourage the slave-trade and slavery, it is necessary that free produce, from all parts of the world, should come into the British markets on equal duties, and that slave-produce should be wholly excluded. On the question of African emigration to the British colonies, second only in importance to the suppression of the slave-trade itself, we trust they will be found voting on the same side. The great danger lies here, that under the plausible pretext of supplying the colonies with African labour, you should revive the British slave-trade, under new forms, and set an evil example to other nations which they would not be slow to follow. Sir Robert Peel, with his usual sagacity, perceives that emigration of this kind will be of small benefit to the colonies; this is our view. Against a thoroughly free scheme of emigration, carried on at the expense of the parties requiring labour, we have never uttered an objection, and never shall. But against any scheme for supplying labourers to the planters, at the public expense, we shall, as we always have done, offer the most determined resistance.

The debate on Mr. Bright's amendment, which terminated this morning, "That it is not desirable to make any alteration in the sugar duties of 1846," was, after an animated discussion—in which, besides the hon. member, Mr. G. Berkeley, Mr. Bagshawe, Mr. Tollemache, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Hastie, Mr. Cardwell, Mr. J. Wilson, Lord Nugent, and others, took part—decided in the negative. The number of members who voted for the amendment was 36; against it, 302; giving the Government a majority of 266. However much we may differ from Mr. Bright, on the Sugar Act of 1846, and its consequences, we cannot but admire the hon. member's courage, and respect him for his unswerving attachment to his principles. At the same time we are compelled to say, supposing him to have been correctly reported, that he is always unfortunate when he either deals with the history of a question, or with its statistics; and is much too hasty in his censures, and sweeping in his condemnation of those who may differ from him. Cannot the hon. gentleman content himself by endeavouring to put his opponents in the wrong by argument and fact, rather than by impeaching their motives, or lowering their character? We can assure him that, in the honest application of the principles of free trade, we yield not to him, or to any man; but we think those principles are desecrated when they are so applied as to encourage crime and subvert freedom.

There has been a great outcry for some time past, on the part of the planters, for stringent legislation, to compel the labour and reduce the wages of the Creoles and immigrants in the emancipated colonies. That outcry has unfortunately found an echo in the Colonial Office; and laws relating to contracts, to the powers of the local magistrates, to immigration, and to other matters involving the just rights of the labourers, have either been allowed to go into operation, or have received the sanction of the Crown, which we regard to be both unjust and oppressive. Yet these laws, as all other measures of a coercive character, intended for the government of freemen, have failed of accomplishing the object aimed at;

and whilst they have not greatly, if at all, benefited the planters, they have, as might have been reasonably expected, irritated and annoyed the labourers. It appears, however, to be the determination of the Government to go farther in the wrong direction; and for this they have, now, not only the urgent solicitations of the planters, but the recommendation of the Sugar and Coffee Planting Committee. The points already gained by the planters are, that the local justices have now concurrent jurisdiction with the stipendiary, in the administration of the laws; that contracts for labour are extended from one year to three years' duration; and that African immigrants may be imported into the colonies, from other parts of the coast than those under British jurisdiction and control. It is now proposed by Lord Grey, that as the laws in force are inadequate to compel residence on the estates, and to coerce labour, he is prepared "to support the enactment of laws for placing the immigrant labourers under a strict and even severe discipline." His lordship therefore suggests "whether the governor and council of Trinidad might not with advantage exercise the power which they now possess, of enacting a vagrant law more stringent in its provisions than that enacted by Her Majesty in council on the 7th of September, 1838." Instructions to a similar effect, we have no doubt, have been forwarded to other colonies. This "*carte blanche*" will be eagerly seized by the planter legislators, and, we fear, will create a state of things most painful to contemplate. As an apology for the changes contemplated, Lord John Russell, in the debate on the Sugar Duties, said there had been "a most jealous supervision of all colonial legislation on the part of the Anti-slavery Committee and the anti-slavery body. Their jealousy was, perhaps, carried to an undue extent. It may have been that many of the provisions of the laws to which they objected were only slightly in fault; but, from the very recent emancipation of the slaves, such a jealousy in this country was, I think, natural. It was only the result of the long struggle which had been carried on between those who wished to maintain the institution of slavery, and the great popular body in this country which had been urging its removal, and striving for its total abolition. But, be that as it may, no doubt the contest tended to prevent the free course of legislation, and the speedy enactment of beneficial measures with respect to vagrancy and the employment of labour." If we had space, we could prove, beyond all doubt, that the course of the Anti-slavery Society, in this department of labour, has been fully justified; and that, but for its strenuous exertions, the emancipated slaves of the colonies would have been free only in name. We take occasion also to remind the noble lord that, in 1838, the two points of the employment of labour and vagrancy were fully provided for by royal Ordinances in Council, and that we can produce unexceptionable evidence to prove that those laws were admirably adapted to secure the great objects of general industry and public order, without infringing the rights of the labourers on the one hand, or depriving the employers of ample means of enforcing it on the other; whilst, in addition, it secured to the Government, by means of a stipendiary and independent magistracy, that control over both which it ought to have.

Since the colonial legislatures and the Government began to meddle with these Ordinances in 1843, a vast amount of mischief has been done, for instead of holding the balances of the law even between the master and the servant, they have given the preponderating power to the former against the latter, and that power they intend to increase. In the earnest desire that the relations between the planters and the labourers may be improved, and the interests of both may be secured, we would implore the Government to pause before it sanctions the proposed additional coercive legislation. Let them be persuaded that if they do, they will not only meet with the most strenuous opposition at home, but they will alienate the confidence of the labouring population in the colonies, and change their loyalty into discontent and disaffection.

On Friday evening a question was put to the Under Colonial Secretary, Mr. Hawes, by Mr. Fagan, respecting the powers possessed by Major Fagan, the Coolie stipendiary magistrate in Trinidad. A statement of the reasons why that question was asked was partly given, when Mr. Gladstone objected to this mode of proceeding, on a point of order. Mr. Fagan then desisted, and simply put his question, which was answered in the following terms:—"From the time of his appointment to this, he (Major Fagan) had executed the duties of a stipendiary Coolie magistrate, and at this

moment, he believed, he was in the commission of the peace, and had all the powers of a magistrate holding that commission." Our reason for adverting to this subject is a very simple one. It appears from the statements which have reached us, and which we believe to be correct, that Major Fagan has been suspended from office for inflicting a fine of twenty pounds currency on a Mr. Johnston, the immigration agent, for an assault on a Coolie. The plea set up for this extraordinary proceeding is, that Major Fagan had no right to exercise the functions of a magistrate on the occasion; the real cause, we believe, is, that he has done his duty fearlessly in punishing one of the officials in the colony, and has thereby intruded into the privileged circle. Of course the matter will not be allowed to rest here. Major Fagan is no favourite of ours; but in the faithful discharge of his duty, we will not shrink from his defence, or fail to expose those who seek to injure him, however high their station, or great their power.

The incident which has given rise to the suspension of Major Fagan from office is this: It appears that an allotment of Coolies was made to a Mr. Ganteaume, a planter, and also the Registrar of the colony, with a salary of seven hundred pounds per annum; that these Coolies have been seven months on the estates, and have been paid no wages; that they came to town to complain to the Immigration Agent of their being without money and without food; that they were told to leave the premises, or they would be compelled to do so by a company of soldiers; that on refusing, one of them, the spokesman, was assaulted by Mr. Johnston; that he carried his complaint to Major Fagan, who, after hearing the evidence, inflicted the fine referred to, under circumstances which did him honour.

It is reported that, during the trial, Major Fagan was grossly insulted by the Attorney-General, Mr. Warner, who held up his fingers against him, and said, "Mind what you are about;" denied his jurisdiction in the case; and otherwise impeded the course of justice. Now it is clear to us, that if Major Fagan had exceeded his powers, Mr. Johnston had the right of appeal from his decision; and that, therefore, any interruption of the kind referred to was disgraceful to an officer of the Crown, holding the situation of Attorney-General. By the next mail we hope to have a full account of the transaction, which we shall lay before our readers.

Our last Colonial files bring us intelligence from the French West India Colonies, from which it appears that after the reception of the decree of the late Provisional Government, abolishing slavery, the negroes at Martinique continued cheerfully to perform their usual quota of labour, but it was manifest that they looked forward with the greatest anxiety for the arrival of the next mail, by which it was expected that the necessary proclamations would be received, entitling them without delay to their freedom. The mail at length arrived, and no intimation was made by the authorities on the subject, which caused a suspicion that the proclamations were retained, with the object of obtaining their unrequited labour until the crop should have been secured. The result was, that an intense excitement was raised, and some serious disasters occurred, which terminated in the death of several individuals. We deeply regret that the happy circumstance of Emancipation should be connected with such serious results. Had the authorities only carried out the intentions of the Government, by giving immediate publicity to the proclamation, and then appealed to the emancipated slaves, we are convinced that not only should we have been spared giving the above sorrowful recital, but have had to relate their willingness to afford every assistance to their former masters in reaping the crop. Freedom, however, was at length proclaimed at St. Pierre, Martinique, on the 23rd May. At Guadaloupe everything seems to have gone on favourably. "Governor Layrle," it appears, "took some precautions against disturbances, and the cessation of labour, and having thus prepared in some measure for emancipation, he, with the advice of his council, drew up a proclamation of freedom on the 27th of May, which was published on the 29th, and no disturbance took place, nor was any expected; but it is said that the planters must compromise, on the *metayer* system, with the negroes, as they have neither money nor credit to pay wages." We confidently hope that future advices will enable us to report favourably of the results arising from the Act of Emancipation.

## Literature.

*A Tribute for the Negro, being an Inquiry into the Claims to Humanity of the Dark Coloured Races, and a Vindication of their Original Equality with the other Portions of Mankind, &c. Manchester, William Irwin, 39, Oldham-street.*

It is with sincere pleasure we announce the early appearance of this interesting publication, which is devoted to the vindication of the moral, intellectual, and religious capabilities of the coloured portion of mankind, with particular reference to the African race. We understand that it will include upwards of 150 biographical sketches of Africans, or their descendants, besides facts and anecdotes, testimonies of travellers, missionaries, &c., and will be found to exhibit an undoubted refutation of the unfounded calumnies which have been heaped on the unfortunate race of Africa. In addition to illustrative engravings, it will contain the portraits of several distinguished men of colour. From the character of the gentleman who has undertaken the pleasing though arduous task, and who contemplates no other reward but that of service to the deeply oppressed race of Africa, we may with confidence recommend his production to the early and earnest attention of our readers, feeling assured that they will be both cheered and profited by its perusal. We are glad to perceive that, in addition to the names of many friends of the negro, the subscription list is headed by the Queen.

## French Translation of Frederick Douglass's Narrative.

To assist in the diffusion of information upon American slavery among the people of France, and to show them the manner in which the United States carry out their professions that "All men are born free and equal, and possess the inalienable right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," an English lady has translated into French the interesting Memoir written by F. Douglass.

Through the aid of some friends to the anti-slavery cause in this country, funds were raised for printing the work in Paris; and it has lately been published in that city by the eminent bookseller Pagnerre.

## Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—June 16th, 1848.

WEST INDIA DISTRESS.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL made his promised statement with respect to the West Indies. After giving the house a general view of the past course of our legislation with respect to the West Indies, he stated, that in his opinion, the distress which now prevailed among them, taken by itself, resembled many other cases of distress which had occurred there during the existence of protection and monopoly. What the house, therefore, had to consider was the general course of legislation, rather than the distress of the present year. There were two great acts by which the present state of the West Indies had been materially affected. The first was the act by which the negro population had been emancipated. That was a great act of humanity and justice, and he verily believed that if it had not been passed we should have had a series of disturbances, and insurrections which must have been fatal to the prosperity of the West Indies. In anything which he said that day he wished to be understood as taking pride to himself for having been a party to the great act of emancipation, whilst the gift of £20,000,000 at the same time to the West Indian proprietors showed that the Parliament and the people of England were disposed to make important sacrifices to prevent distress and ruin from falling upon them. In carrying that act into effect, there were some measures taken, which, although supported by public feeling at the time, did impose additional inconvenience upon the West Indian proprietary. He particularly referred to the act prohibiting the importation of free labourers from the coast of Africa, which, it was thought, could not be permitted without increasing slavery and the slave-trade. The act for introducing free labour from the East Indies into the Mauritius had also been obstructed by the House of Commons. Afterwards, other acts had been passed for introducing free labour into the Mauritius and the West Indies, but those acts had not been attended with much success. The experiment of introducing European labourers into the West Indies had failed, and that of introducing the Coolies had scarcely been more successful. Other measures had since been taken, which were greatly objected to at the time, but of which the principle was not liable to objection. The other great legislative measure by which the West Indies had been affected, was the change made in the law in the years 1845 and 1846, by the introduction of free-labour sugar in 1845, and of all foreign sugar in 1846, under various reductions of duty, which would end, in the year 1851, in the equalization of all the sugar duties. If the first great act to which he had alluded rested on humanity and justice, the act of 1846 rested on sound policy, and a principle of justice to the labouring population of this country, and the general effect of both, he said, had been successful. The main object of the act of 1834 had been, to give freedom to 800,000 slaves, and to place them in a condition of independence and prosperity. That object was admitted on all hands to have been attained. The main object of the act of 1846 was to obtain a cheaper and larger supply of sugar with a diminution of burdens to the people of England—an object which he showed, by financial returns, had been accomplished. He then proceeded to point out certain inconveniences which had accrued from the act of 1846 to the proprietors of the West Indies, and admitted that they had a claim for some measure of relief. Applying himself to the question of immigration, he proposed to do more now than he should have done had that question been settled some years ago, and had there been a fair import of labour since the year 1834. He proposed to make an advance to the colonies on the security of the colonial revenues, for the purpose of meeting the expense of immigration;

or rather, he should say, that he proposed to guarantee a colonial loan not exceeding £500,000, in addition to £200,000 which the house had already guaranteed this session. He had already stated that complaints had been made of the too rapid operation of the act of 1846, and that under it one class of sugar had advantage over every other class in the classification of duties, which it ought not fairly to have. In considering that subject, he frankly avowed that he did not think it fair to the British consumer to impose a differential duty of 10s. on sugar, to last for 10 years or more, for the purpose of reviving the industry and prosperity of the West Indies. He, therefore, looked in another direction; he looked to the experience of late years, in which he saw that, with regard to many articles on which the duty had been diminished, and the price had been lowered, the revenue had been no loser, whilst the consumer had been a great gainer. He therefore looked to a large consumption of sugar for the means of modifying the act of 1846. What he proposed was, that the duty on colonial sugar should be reduced after the 5th of July in the present year to 13s., and should be reduced subsequently a shilling every succeeding year, until it reached 10s. He likewise proposed that the duty on ordinary foreign muscovado sugar should remain as fixed by the act of 1846; but he proposed a new distinctive duty for foreign brown clayed sugar:—From the 5th of July, 1848, to the 5th of July, 1849, the duty would remain at 20s., and it would then be reduced by 1s. 6d. a year, until it reached a 10s. duty in July, 1854. The proposed duties, then, would stand thus:—

Year ending July 5,	Foreign brown clayed.	Common.	Colonial Muscovado.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1849	20 0	18 6	13 0
1850	18 6	17 0	12 0
1851	17 0	15 6	11 0
1852	15 6	14 0	10 0
1853	14 6	13 0	10 0
1854	13 0	12 0	10 0
Equal ..	10 0	10 0	10 0

Of course such a change in these sugar duties would require a corresponding change to be made in the duties on refined and double refined white clayed sugars and on molasses. He had said that complaints had been made by the West India proprietors of the differential duty on rum. Last year the Chancellor of the Exchequer had proposed that the differential duty on rum should be 6d. Some difficulty arose on that proposition, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer raised it to 9d., although he maintained that 6d. was quite sufficient. The Chairman of the Board of Excise thought that 4d. was sufficient as a differential duty; and he (Lord J. Russell) therefore could not agree to impose a higher differential duty on rum than that sum. There was one question connected with this reduction of duty, which would make it necessary to withdraw the permission given last year to use sugar in breweries. With regard to the use of sugar in distilleries, no change in the present law would be made. He had now stated to the house the proposition of the Government. He thought that it would be convenient, if the house would allow him, to print his resolutions now, and he would then propose to submit them to a committee of the whole house on Monday next.

SIR R. INGLIS would have thought it impossible, if he had not heard it, for such a statement to have been made by the noble lord, without one passing reference to what he believed to be the deep-seated feeling of that house and of the country. The question before the house was not confined to the question whether the people of this country should have cheap sugar or not, but whether that sugar should be stained with the blood of the slave. (Cheers). He confessed that, if the experiment had not been made, he should not have thought it possible that the whole of that question could have been kept carefully out of sight. It was true that the First Minister of the Crown told them that he desired to preserve intact the act of 1834, but did he preserve intact the act of 1807? (Hear, hear). Was it not almost equally a crime and a sin on our part, if wilfully, and with our eyes open, we did that which we knew necessarily must encourage the slave-trade in every other part of the world? He wished everything to be cheap, but the question was, whether there were not more important things in heaven and earth than cheap sugar? We were virtually returning to an abandoned system, and he grieved to think that it should be left to the Prime Minister, who bore so distinguished a part in the struggles which followed the act of 1807, to come forward and propose a measure which practically legalized that in others which we ourselves had felt it our duty, in the sight of God and man, to forsake. (Hear, hear). Was it possible that, for the sake of a fraction of a penny in the pound, we should be parties to the perpetuation of the slave-trade? With regard to the act of 1834, he must say that he thought the expense of our humanity ought not to be thrown on the West Indies, on whom we at that time forced it. He contended that not merely the sufferings of the people of Africa ought to be regarded, but—though he hardly liked to bring them together in the same sentence—the condition of the white proprietors in the West Indies ought to be considered. There was something almost ridiculous in the proposition of Her Majesty's Government. He had to apologize to the house for rising at all; but he had wished to protest, in the first instance, against any statement from which it appeared to be almost a matter of indifference whether the slave-trade was continued or not.

SIR J. PAKINGTON gave expression to the discontent with which his side of the house had listened to the statement of Lord J. Russell. He hoped that the act of 1834 would be persisted in by the house; but Lord J. Russell was departing from it in his present proposition, which would give a great stimulus to that slave-trade to which he professed himself desirous to put an end.

MR. BERNAL would not bind himself to stand by any scale of protective or anti-protective duties on this subject; for he claimed on behalf of the West India proprietors the right to import their produce into this country free from all duties whatever.

MR. H. BARKLY declared the measure, of which the house had just

heard the outline, to be quite insufficient to avert the ruin of the West Indies. The loan of £500,000 would not be worth 5d. for the purposes of immigration.

Mr. BRIGHT denied that the West India planters had any right to come to the House of Commons for compensation for their losses, and intimated his intention to oppose to the utmost any claim for it. For his own part he disbelieved the distress of the West Indies, and wanted to know, if it had any existence, when it commenced.

Mr. HUME expressed his deep regret at the statement of Lord J. RUSSELL. He should prefer the act as it stood at present, to the modification of it now proposed, which would only prolong the lingering death to which the West Indian interests were now exposed. He did not say that the act of 1846 had produced all the evils of the West Indies, but he did maintain that it had aggravated them all. The measure of the Government would lead to a defalcation in the revenue.

Mr. H. DRUMMOND, Mr. MILES, jun., Mr. HENLEY, Mr. HUDSON, and Mr. E. DENISON, declared their conviction that the remedy proposed by the Government was totally inadequate to relieve the distress of the West Indies.

Mr. HERRIES considered that Lord J. Russell's plan offered no remedy for the painful distress of the West Indies, and was one of the most miserable abortions ever presented to Parliament. The Government was bound to give greater discouragement to slave-grown sugar than it now proposed, and until it did so it would do little for the improvement of the West Indies.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER contended that the argument of the last speaker went the whole length of excluding from this country all slave-grown sugar. After attempting to prove the impracticability of such a scheme, he ridiculed the idea of imposing a high protective duty as a discouragement of slave-grown sugar, and proceeded to observe, that he was not sanguine enough to suppose that any measure which the Government might propose would, when taken by itself, give universal satisfaction. The best test of its merits or demerits would be whether it was preferred or not to any measure emanating from another quarter.

Lord G. BENTINCK said that the mail which carried out the news of this measure to the West Indies, would carry dismay and ruin to those colonies, and would at the same time cause additional regret to all who had marked the progress of the slave-trade during the last few years. He merely rose to give heart to the British colonies; for he wished that the same mail which carried out this edict of the British Minister, should give the colonists some notion of the coldness with which it had been received in the House of Commons, and of the enthusiasm with which the opposition offered to it by Sir R. Inglis had been welcomed. He argued that on Monday next the vote of the house would decide that the British colonies should be left to perish.

Mr. DISRAELI denounced the Government proposal as a paltry and perilous measure—paltry, because it could do no good; perilous, because it might do much harm. He complained that England had obtained the consent of the West India proprietors to the abolition of slavery upon three conditions, all of which she had deliberately violated—the system of apprenticeship, the free immigration of labour, and a fair market for their sugar. He then reviewed the Government measure in its moral, economical, and financial relations, contending that on each of those three grounds it was equally objectionable.

Lord J. RUSSELL felt it necessary to say a few words in reply. He observed that the demonstration which had just been made convinced him that on Monday next the house would have to decide between the modified act of 1846 and the imposition of a differential duty of 10s. a cwt. on foreign sugar, which would be a heavy tax on the people of England. He denied that any reaction against the principle of free trade had commenced in the country, and contended that if it had not been for the recent legislation on those principles, the distress of the West Indies, and of the country at large, would have been much greater than it was at present.

The house then decided that it would go into committee on the Government proposition on Monday.

June 19th.—Lord J. RUSSELL moved the reading of the order of the day for the house resolving itself into a committee of the whole house on the sugar duties.

Mr. ELLICE considered the resolutions of Lord John Russell as an insidious device, either to do nothing or to alter the principle on which the act of 1846 was founded. He thought that it would be better to reduce the sugar duties at once to 10s. than to adopt the scheme of Government. The sacrifice of revenue which the Government would thus make would not be more than the £500,000 which Lord John Russell proposed to lend, or rather to give, to the West Indian colonies. Did his Lordship think that when the colonies heard that their prayers for relief were to be answered by the two measures which he had proposed, they would any longer submit or be able to support his establishments in Jamaica, British Guiana, and elsewhere? In Demerara the colonists had already refused to grant supplies until their grievances were redressed; and in Jamaica and in British Guiana the expense of the establishments for the last year had been defrayed out of the pockets of the British merchant. He agreed that the days of protection were gone by; but he would temporize a little on this question, because we were on the eve of great changes affecting other interests, and because we were fast advancing to the times when we must have low prices and must reconcile ourselves to high taxes. In such a state of affairs he should have thought it wise to hold out a little assistance to the West Indies, in order to see whether we could not tide over our present difficulties, and so get time and means for taking a large and comprehensive view of their condition.

Lord J. RUSSELL observed, that Mr. Ellice appeared to think that we should neither afford protection to the West Indies nor advance money for the immigration of labour. Now, all persons acquainted with the West Indies were of opinion, that either by one course or by the other, or, perhaps by both, some remedy must be sought for that great distress which everybody admitted.

Sir J. PAKINGTON then moved as an amendment,

"That this house, considering the evidence taken during the present session before a select committee, is of opinion that the remedies proposed by Her Majesty's Government for the great distress of the sugar-growing possessions of the Crown, and which that committee has said will require the immediate application of relief, will neither effect that object nor check the stimulus to the slave-trade which the diminution of

the cultivation of sugar in those colonies has inevitably occasioned." He contended that the differential duty now proposed by the Government was quite inadequate to the present crisis, and totally incapable of affording relief to the distress of the British colonies. He proved this by referring to the comparative cost of producing sugar in the British West Indies and in the slave colonies of Cuba and the Brazils. He also objected to that part of Lord John Russell's scheme which permitted the captured Africans to be landed in Jamaica and the other West Indian islands free of cost, on the ground that it might lead to the renewal of the slave-trade. He likewise complained of the mode in which the act of 1846 had been passed, and of the results which it had produced in the West Indies. No less than 18 mercantile houses in the West Indies had already become bankrupt, and if the present state of things continued other firms must be involved in the same ruin. He showed that equally melancholy results had been produced by the same cause in the Mauritius and in the East Indies; and quoted the opinions of the most competent authorities in all our colonies to prove that our sugar planters could not cultivate their estates to advantage without competent protection. He then turned to that portion of the subject which is connected with slavery and the slave-trade, and contended that the act of 1846 had increased both to an extent almost incalculable. If we wished to exterminate the slave-trade we must enable the British planter to enter into competition with slave labour, and to do that we must give him competent protection. He therefore implored the house to retrace its steps, as it valued the dependencies of the British Crown and the reputation and character of this Christian land.

Sir E. BUXTON seconded the amendment, though he did not approach the question altogether with the same views as Sir J. Pakington. The true policy of this country was, he thought, to exclude from its shores all slave-labour sugar, and to admit from every country without any restriction sugar the produce of free labour. He was anxious to let the people of England have sugar at a low price; but he firmly believed that if they were informed that they could not have low-priced sugar without the destruction of the man who made it, they would reject it with abhorrence, and would gladly give a higher price for the sugar raised by the free man.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER had listened to the speeches of the mover and seconder of the amendment with great attention, in the vain hope that he should find in some portion of them a substitute for the measure of the Government which they condemned; but, with all his desire to dive into the meaning of Sir J. Pakington's amendment, he could not make out either what he would do for the relief of the West India planter, or what protection he would grant to his sugar. Sir E. Buxton was somewhat more explicit, for he proposed the perpetual exclusion of slave-labour sugar; but, unfortunately, Parliament had already decided against that proposition, as well as against the perpetual high protective duty to which Sir J. Pakington appeared inclined. He then proceeded to contend, in opposition to the same gentlemen, that the act of 1846 had not caused that increase of slavery and the slave-trade which had been attributed to it; that neither slavery nor the slave-trade could be put down by high protective duties; and that the only mode of extinguishing either was by establishing the superior cheapness of free labour. He admitted that there was no hope of restoring the prosperity of the West Indies, unless we could enable their planters to compete successfully with the planters in Cuba and in the Brazils. He would repeat, that one mode of enabling them to meet that competition was the diminution of their expenses, and especially of the cost of managing their estates. After showing that protection had operated very injuriously in the West Indies by increasing the rate of wages, which was an essential ingredient in the price of production, he argued at great length that Government would defeat its own object if it were to restore the high protection which formerly existed, and that the best plan for renewing the prosperity of the West Indies and for suppressing the slave-trade would be that of Government, which gave at once a free supply of labour to those colonies which wanted it, and an extension for three years longer of the moderate protection now in force. He also maintained that no injury would accrue to the revenue from the changes now proposed, as they were calculated to produce an increased consumption of sugar.

Mr. SEYMER supported the amendment, in the hope that if it were carried it would compel the Government to reconsider the whole of this subject. He expressed himself unable to conceive how the country, which had so nobly abolished slavery in 1807, could have passed the act of 1846, which not only encouraged slavery, but also renewed the slave-trade, or could accede to a proposition like the present. It was true that the act of 1846 had rendered sugar cheap; but did the house never hear of parties selling their wares at a tremendous sacrifice? Many of our planters were already ruined, and those who were not were declining business; and the result would be that the supply of sugar would diminish, and before long the price would again increase.

Mr. HUME rose as a free trader to show that free trade had nothing to do with the question then before the house. Free trade could only operate where the parties were in like circumstances, and where both could apply the same objects to the same ends. Now, it was the opinion of Mr. Deacon Hume that if the British West Indies could be placed on a footing of equality with Cuba or Porto Rico, they would be able to compete with them successfully; and that gentleman entertained that opinion with great confidence, because, up to a recent period, this country had been the great mart for the sugar, coffee, and rum of the West Indies. "But," said he, "when you abolished slavery you deprived the British planter of the labour which he enjoyed before in common with the Spanish colonist; and until you have again placed him on a level with his rivals in that respect, you cannot call upon him to meet the competition of free trade." He was of opinion that the measure of Government would have no effect in restoring their prosperity, and that it would be better to let them die quickly, than to keep them in a lingering and painful existence. For his own part he was of opinion that if we were to withdraw our squadron from the coast of Africa, and apply the expense of it to the relief of the distress in the West Indies, in 10 years their prosperity would be restored, and all their distress would vanish.

The house then adjourned.

June 22nd.—The adjourned debate was resumed by

Mr. MOFFATT, who expressed his intention of voting in favour of Sir J. Pakington's amendment.

Mr. GLADSTONE observed, that, though he dissented from the proposition of the Government in many respects, he must still admit that it had

been influenced by a desire to benefit all parties, and that it had had to treat with a question of extreme difficulty. As a measure of relief to colonial distress, the measure was open to objection, as being less than the necessity of the case demanded; and as a measure of finance it was open to objections altogether insurmountable. No vote which he should give that evening would yield him satisfaction. He objected to the proposition of reducing the duty on colonial sugar from 14s. to 13s. a cwt. this year; but he could not go the length of opposing the Speaker's leaving the chair; for he should then appear to be objecting to any modification or alteration of the sugar duties. He must therefore vote in favour of the amendment of Sir J. Pakington, but in so doing he must explain his own views, lest he should be supposed to entertain the opinions of that gentleman as to the administration of relief to the West Indies. He thought that the West Indians had a right to say to us, "We have suffered at your hands, and we therefore claim at your hands pecuniary relief." The compensation in labour was as much part of the bargain made with the West Indies for the abolition of slavery as the £20,000,000 which we had paid them in money. They were entitled to continue the apprenticeship system for six years after the passing of the Emancipation Bill, and yet we had compelled them to put an end to it at the expiration of four years, thus depriving them of one-third of the compensation in labour to which they were entitled. They had also a good case against us on the question of immigration. When they applied to us at the commencement of the apprenticeship system for a supply of labour, we met them with restrictions and restraints; but now, when they were exhausted in means, we granted them the boon which we refused to them when they had funds to turn it to advantage. Such being the claims of the West Indies, he came to the consideration of the way in which Government proposed to satisfy them. The relief afforded by the Government was not sufficient, and relief ought to be granted over and above it. The question, therefore, arose in what form it ought to be granted? Some were of opinion that the relief should be given in the shape of protection, and Sir J. Pakington would have Parliament retrace its steps and give to sugar so large a measure of protection as 10s. per cwt. Now, he (Mr. Gladstone) felt great reluctance to any such proposition, on two grounds. First, with every desire to acknowledge our obligations to the West Indies and to the Mauritius, he must contend that there were some considerations which did apply to the West Indies, and which did not apply to them. For instance, they had not the same claim to a protective duty of 10s. as the West Indies had. In the next place, such a great reaction in protective duties would diminish the stimulus to exertion on the part of the proprietors, and would lead to a corresponding reaction in the wages of labour in the West Indies. There was, therefore, no reason for throwing away the funds of this country in such a manner. Besides, it would not be wise to follow a retrograde course on the subject of protecting duties. He would, therefore, prefer the simple arrest of the present descending scale of duties for a term of years to the plan now proposed by Government, as he thought that a uniform scale would be more beneficial for such a term. After regretting that the Government had not come to some distinct conclusion as to vagrancy and squatting in the West Indies, he proceeded to complain, that the loan proposed to be made to the West Indies by the Government was to be directed to purposes of immigration, and that only to some of the colonies. He thought that it would have been wise to have directed that loan or grant of public money to the improvement of estates in the colonies. He should have been delighted to have heard, in the speech of Lord J. Russell, some prospect held out of his intention to accord to them the free management of their financial affairs; for he had observed that there was much more economy in those colonies which enjoyed colonial assemblies than in those which did not. He then stated what he considered to be the insuperable objections to the financial aspect of the present proposition. If it were insufficient for its end, as he contended that it was, then it was impolitic on that ground alone; but he was of opinion that we were going to make a much larger sacrifice of money than we had yet been informed of.

Mr. WILSON had listened with much interest and no little surprise to the speech of Mr. Gladstone, who, after taking many objections to the measure of Government, had concluded by declaring his intention to vote in favour of the amendment of Sir J. Pakington. He objected to the mode in which Government dealt with protection, and yet did not venture to propose to increase it. He also objected, not to the loan which Government proposed to make, but to the application of it. Now, he contended that there was no other mode in which it could be made so applicable to the present distress in the West Indies in the present crisis, as by applying it to providing a supply of labour by immigration. He also maintained that the objections of Mr. Gladstone to it as a financial measure were unfounded, and that Government had borne in mind the interests of the revenue on one hand, and the interests of the consumer on the other. The amendment of Sir J. Pakington implied that the relief afforded by the proposition of Government was insufficient, and meant, in plain words, that protection should be increased to 10s. per cwt., as proposed in the report of the committee, and that it was required by the restrictions to which we had so long exposed the West Indian interest. He did not despair of the condition of the West Indies; on the contrary, he saw in the evidence taken before the committee great hope for those colonies. They had already seen the worst. Already there was a prospect of their increasing prosperity, and the facility of obtaining labour would expedite its arrival. The proposition of Sir J. Pakington would, if carried, retard rather than accelerate it, for it would raise the price of sugar, it would diminish its consumption in this country, and would be injurious to the revenue both from increasing its price and diminishing its consumption.

The debate was then adjourned.

June 23rd.—The adjourned debate was resumed by

Mr. W. MILES, who contended that protection was absolutely necessary for the welfare of the colonies. Under all the circumstances he should support the motion of Sir J. Pakington, in preference to the government proposition.

Mr. HAWES agreed with Mr. Gladstone as to the importance of that portion of the question which related to the interest of the labouring classes in the West Indian colonies. He then reviewed the acts of 1844 and 1846, and declared that if he thought the latter act had inflicted injuries on those colonies, he would be the first to abandon that policy and repeal the act of 1846. He thought the calamities which had fallen

on this country lately had deprived the colonists of the time which they should have had in order to get the system into its proper working order, and consequently they had not received the benefit from those measures which, under other circumstances, they would have derived from the acts of 1844 and 1846. The right hon. gentleman having thus defended the acts of the legislature, went on to attribute the distress of the West Indian colonies to the extravagance and mismanagement of the colonists themselves. He then referred to the charge of incompetency with which the Colonial Office had been taxed in the management of the internal affairs of the colonies, and contended that that office had done its duty efficiently. He also adverted to the subject of emigration, and thought that labour was not so much wanted as improved cultivation, and that the planters should not look so much to the coast of Africa, from which but a small amount of labour could be had for some time, but pay more attention to an improved method of cultivation. He concluded by recommending the government scheme as the best adapted to the present emergency of the colonies.

Lord G. BENTINCK differed from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had, in his opinion, exaggerated the increased consumption relied upon, and made no provision for the loss which would be sustained by the reduction of the duty on rum from 9d. to 4d. The proper way to test the government proposition would be to take the average of six or seven years, and he was sure it would show a deficiency in the finances, while if the recommendation of the committee appointed to inquire into the state of the colonies were acted upon, and tested by the same test, it would show a considerable balance in its favour. The noble lord then defended the committee from the charge that it thought nothing of the commerce of the country. The committee had recommended cheap sugar, if we could have it without giving an impetus to the slave-trade. No man with any conscience could consent to have cheap sugar under a system which would encourage those who still dealt in slaves. The government measure did impose such a compromise, and he called upon all those who professed themselves averse to the traffic in slaves to oppose this measure. He contended that the distress in the Mauritius was attributable to the act of 1846, and to the same act was the distress of the West Indian colonies indebted. It was to little purpose that hon. gentlemen attempted to show that free labour could compete with slave labour, for the latter could sell sugar for 21s. at a profit, while such a price to the former would be only ruinous to the planters. The British sugar colonies could not prosper unless they got 28s. or 30s. per cwt. for their produce, and in this opinion he was joined by the free-trade Governor of Jamaica. He appealed to the Government to fulfil that guarantee now which they gave when the planters were in a position to compete with slave-grown sugar.

Lord J. RUSSELL rose amidst cries for a division. The house however adjourned.

June 26th.—The debate was resumed by Mr. G. THOMPSON, who considered that the immigration system of the Government must be a failure, and contended that if it were not, it must be a restoration of the old slave-trade under a new name, and be deeply injurious to the colonies in their social relations. He entered into an elaborate refutation of the speech of Mr. Gladstone, contending that we had not violated the contract which we had made with the West Indians in 1834, on the passing of the Emancipation Act. He could not respond to the call which had been made upon him by the abolitionists to vote for a discriminating duty, in order to put down slavery and the slave-trade. Neither could he accede to the proposition of the Government, for it was a deviation from the great principles of free trade which the country had of late years wisely adopted.

Mr. BERNAL declared his preference of the sliding scale of duties proposed by the Government to that uniform rate of duties which Mr. Gladstone had shadowed out, though rather indistinctly. He did not object to the loan of half a million to the West Indian interest, but he was of opinion that it ought to be applied to other purposes than those of immigration. After a speech, by which he elicited great cheering from the protectionists, he startled them not a little from their propriety by the conclusion, wherein he declared that he should vote for the resolutions of the Government because the Government had stood firm on the rum duties, and had not yielded to the seductions of the Irish Letharios.

Sir J. GRAHAM took a review of the legislation of this country with regard to the West Indies and its productions from the time of the Emancipation Act down to the act of 1846. He had given an unwilling support to that act out of deference to the opinion of Sir R. Peel, and from an unwillingness to overthrow the Government which had just succeeded that to which he had himself belonged, and which had pledged its existence on the success of the act which it had introduced. The bearing of the new duties of that act on slavery and the slave-trade was considered amply at the time, and the act of 1846 was deliberately sanctioned by both Houses of Parliament as giving a warning both to our own colonies and to foreign nations that we had come to a final settlement of the sugar question. Experience had since proved that that act had added to the revenue, had reduced the price to the consumer, and had not increased the slave-trade. He wanted to know what would be the consequence of its proposed reversal? Different gentlemen had mentioned different results; but the West Indian interest anticipated from it different degrees of protection, varying from 7s. to 20s. a cwt. Now, there were circumstances which, in his opinion, rendered protection to sugar particularly dangerous, and those circumstances were its tendency to increase speculation and the rate of wages. The first proposition of Sir J. Pakington showed that there was lurking under his present amendment a proposition affirming a 10s. duty. This was not the time for discussing the relative merits of the scheme of Government and that of Mr. Gladstone; he would, therefore, confine himself to protesting against a 10s. duty as a protection, which it was inexpedient to grant even upon colonial grounds. Mr. Herries had said that nothing would benefit the West Indies save a discriminating duty so high as to approach a prohibitory tariff. Now, if we were to continue the duration of the Corn Laws, if we were to approach a prohibitory tariff on sugar, and if we were to decry cheapness as an evil, then reaction was indeed impending, and to such reaction he was opposed. Cheapness in sugar was everything to the poor. He was opposed to reaction. He said that it was impracticable, and that if practicable it was dangerous. He believed that it was anti-Conservative, and that if it were carried into effect it would be dangerous to all our institutions. He should, therefore, give his most decided opposition to the amendment, as

he considered it to be the first step in the path of reaction, on which he refused to tread.

Mr. CALLAGHAN supported the plan of the Government so far as regarded the sugar duties, but reserved his opinion with respect to those on rum.

On the motion of Sir R. INGLIS, the debate was then adjourned till Thursday.

June 30th. — The adjourned debate on the sugar duties was resumed by

Sir R. INGLIS, who complained that, with the exception of Sir E. N. Buxton and Mr. G. Thompson, not a single syllable had fallen in this protracted discussion from any member on that great subject, the abolition of the slave-trade—a trade which had desolated Africa and disgraced Europe. Believing as he did, that the diminished price of sugar was obtained by an awful price of blood, he declared that he would not be a party to give to the people of England cheap sugar so purchased. An additional duty of 10s. a cwt. on sugar, would not increase its price to the consumer a penny a pound. The cost of blood at which a diminution of its price would be effected was so great, that he was quite sure that there was not one of his poorer fellow-countrymen who would not willingly pay the increased price of a penny a pound for his sugar, to avoid that cost of blood in future. After taunting Mr. Labouchere, Lord Palmerston, and Mr. Gladstone with the inconsistency of their present arguments, and their speeches in 1840 on the horrors of the slave-trade, he concluded by declaring that when he contrasted the advantages gained by the consumers of England with the indescribable misery occasioned to millions of our fellow-men by the cheapness of sugar, he was compelled to withhold his concurrence from the proposition of Her Majesty's Government, and to vote in favour of Sir J. Pakington's amendment.

Mr. BARKLY observed that the protection which all were agreed should be awarded to these colonies could only be awarded for such a time as would be necessary to afford them a fair supply of labour, and as would enable them to provide better relations between the employers and the employed. The real question appeared to him to be between a fixed duty of 5s. a cwt. for a long, or of 10s. a cwt. for a shorter period, say three years; and in his opinion, the latter amount of protection would cost the people of England a less sum, and would be productive of more benefit to the planters, as it would put an end to the vacillating policy under which the planters had suffered for many years. He then proceeded to refute the different speeches made on the side of the Government, denying that there had been any reckless or extravagant management in the cultivation of West Indian estates, and contending that slave-grown sugar ought not to be brought into competition with free-labour sugar in the markets of this country. The question was, whether we would allow the great experiment of negro emancipation to be an abortive experiment, and our efforts and expenditure to extinguish slavery for the last fifty years to be entirely and ineffectually thrown away.

Mr. LABOUCHERE admitted and lamented over the existence of great private and public distress in the West Indies; that distress had been clearly established by the inquiries of the committee, which had been more satisfactory than the conclusions to which it had arrived. There was nothing substantial in their conclusions, save their recommendation of a protecting duty of 10s. for six years—a recommendation which was only carried by the casting vote of the chairman, and which would not have been carried if Mr. Goulburn and Mr. Gladstone had not withdrawn from the committee. After declaring his objections to that recommendation, he proceeded to contend that the best plan for the relief of the West Indies was the reduction of the wages of labour to such a point as would at once be adequate for the support of the labourer and be productive of profit to the planter. Every man looked forward to an equalization of the duties on foreign and colonial sugar. We must, therefore, prepare the colonies for that consummation; and nothing would be more injurious to such preparation than to give them a high protection now, and to force them hereafter to foreign competition, when that artificial system of protection had ceased. He believed that the modifications now proposed in the act of 1846 would give immediate relief to the West Indies, and that without any risk to the revenue it would be ultimately beneficial to the interests of the consumer. He shared the indignation which Sir R. Inglis felt at the horrors of the slave-trade; but he was convinced that if we were firm to our determination to exclude slavery from our colonies, we should ultimately put down slavery by free labour all over the world. He thought that the advantages of immigration had been to some degree overrated; but certainly some advantage would be obtained, not by the importation of an immense number of free labourers, but by the importation of a limited number, as a check to the extravagant demands of the free negro population for wages. After some remarks on the new system of contracts, and on the vagrancy laws of the colonies, he concluded by declaring himself friendly to the freest immigration of labour which stopped short of a restoration of the slave-trade.

Mr. GOULBURN said, the view which in this crisis he took of this question was that Government alone could provide a remedy commensurate to the distress under which the West Indies were then suffering; and he therefore wished to throw on Government the responsibility of affording them relief at present. By the act of 1846, the Government had inflicted an annual loss of £800,000 upon the colonies by the manner in which it had levied the duties on the different classes of sugar. It was true that that act had benefited the revenue, but the gain to the revenue had been obtained at the expense of the colonists, and the loss which they had sustained in this way had been one cause of their present distress, and therefore entitled them to compensation. He then proceeded to contend that the plan of Government was utterly inadequate as a measure of relief for the distress of the West Indies.

Sir R. PEEL commenced by expressing his deep sympathy with the distress of our colonies in the West Indies. Her Majesty's Government had made proposals for their relief, and Sir John Pakington had called on the house to refuse consideration of those proposals, and on the Government to bring forward a better plan, or else to leave to others the introduction of one. He then discussed the merits of Lord G. Bentinck's plan, and took a rapid review of the present position of the West Indies. Having done that, he asked whether, if he agreed to the amendment, he could go back to the measure of 1844, and re-establish the distinction between slave-labour and free-labour sugar? He thought that he could not. In 1846 he agreed to the law which put an end to that distinction,

and he could not shrink from the vote which he then gave. He, therefore, could not hold out any hopes to the West Indian interest in that direction; neither could he hold out to them any hopes from the reduction of colonial expenditure, although he thought that that expenditure admitted of great reduction, and ought to be reduced to the narrowest limits. The payment of the salaries of our colonial governors by the Home Government, and the passing of police laws for the prevention of vagrancy and squatting, were measures to be recommended, but were not measures to remove the existing distress. He then referred to the measures of relief to be derived from the reduction of the differential duties on rum to fourpence a gallon, from the repeal of the Navigation Laws, and from the withdrawal of our squadron from the coast of Africa, and delivered his opinion on each of them. He then observed that there were only two other suggestions of any importance left for the mitigation of West India suffering. The first of them was, that there should be a great supply of labour by immigration; and the second, that there should be direct assistance given to them by this country, by the increase and continuance of protection to their produce. Now, her Majesty's Government had proposed a loan of public money for the first purpose. For his own part, he did not attach much importance to this increased supply of labour. To pour in a large number of Coolies or other strangers would be injudicious; for you would only be adding to the population of the colonies without providing it with permanent employment. If you were to have immigration at all, you should have it at the cost of private speculation. He would therefore facilitate the enterprise of individual proprietors to obtain labour in every possible way, taking care at the same time that no ground should be afforded for the imputation that we were recurring to the slave-trade. He begged Government to consider the best mode of extending to the colonies the pecuniary relief which they had determined to grant, and suggested that their present scheme might be ameliorated by devoting the public funds to provide remedies against drought by irrigation, better draining, and various other measures of local improvement. He came to the last of the two suggestions which he had just mentioned—a ten shillings protecting duty for six years. Now, if he could vote for that, he would vote for the amendment of Sir J. Pakington; but he could not vote for that amendment without giving the West India body a right to expect that he would give them that amount of duty. He was, therefore, prepared to vote against it, from a sincere and conscientious conviction that such protection was not for the benefit of the West Indies themselves. Having given his reasons for that conviction at some length, he observed that the best plan of benefiting the West Indies was to reduce the cost of cultivation to the planter, so as to enable him to enter into competition with the foreign cultivator. He could not hold out any hope of carrying that plan into execution; and, therefore, he must again decline to vote in favour of the amendment. He would not say anything upon the scheme of the Government, for it was not regularly before the House at present. He did not despair of the West Indies; but he was convinced, that if we were to give them a monopoly of the British market, it would not tend to their prosperity. There might now be a temporary prosperity in the slave colonies of Cuba and Brazil; but he must be blind to the signs of the times who thought that slave-labour could be ultimately maintained in those colonies. In both of them there was no confidence in the continuance of their prosperity. At no time, and under no circumstances, could a Government be secure which contained within itself the accursed system of slavery. If he could suppose that a temporary protection would mitigate the horrors of that system, he would vote for such a protection at once; but it would not produce any mitigation. He reminded the West Indians that there were other circumstances at present which aggravated the insecurity of all slave States. The mighty heavings of the convulsion in France had already been felt at the other side of the Atlantic. They were already reading lessons by which Cuba and the United States ought to take warning. There was an increasing sympathy at present with the slave; and he who imported a slave into any country stood in slippery places, and should take heed lest he fall. He believed that the doom of slavery was fixed, and that the slave at no distant period would be emancipated, and would stand, in the eloquent language of Curran, disenchanted, regenerated, and disenthralled by the great principle of universal emancipation.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL replied to Sir R. Peel's question, whether the loan of £500,000 could not be appropriated to other purposes than those of immigration, by stating that the multiplicity and variety of the applications would render it impossible to advance it to individual applicants. If there were any great works undertaken in the West Indies which were calculated to increase their produce, or if any great plan were devised for irrigating the country and for removing drought by better drainage, he should have no objection to extend the appropriation of the loan to such purposes. He then replied at considerable length to the speech of Mr. Gladstone on the discriminating duties, and to that of Sir R. Inglis on the increase of slavery and the slave-trade.

Mr. MUNTZ could not vote for the scheme of the Government, because it deranged everything and settled nothing.

The House then divided, when the numbers were, for the ministerial proposition,—

Ayes	..	..	..	..	..	260
Noes	..	..	..	..	..	245
Majority						15

The House then resolved itself into a committee of the whole House.

#### BIRMINGHAM ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

At a meeting of the Committee of the Birmingham British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, held at the Public Office, June 23rd, 1848, Richard T. Cadbury in the chair,

It was resolved, 1st, that this Committee view with deep regret the measures recently proposed by Lord John Russell, for the relief of the sugar-planters, especially the plan of emigration from Africa:—

Because there is ample evidence, from disinterested and highly respectable parties residing in the colonies, to show that when the peasantry

are treated with consideration and judgment, an abundant supply of labour can be obtained at from 6d. to 1s. per diem, being far less than it cost before emancipation took place.

Because it has already been proved that all such plans of emigration, supported at the public expense, for no other purpose than that of reducing the wages of the native labourer, have not only failed in this object, but have already entailed on some of the colonies a ruinous expense, while they have, to a large extent, been repudiated by the parties for whose benefit they were proposed, and have, in many cases, been attended by a mortality amongst the immigrants, only equalled by the slave-trade itself.

2nd, That this Committee strongly objected to the Act of 1846, for admitting the slave-grown sugar of Brazil and Cuba, and were prepared to expect the fearful increase of the slave-trade which has immediately resulted from it; and they are of opinion that the introduction of these sugars has involved this country in a large share of the guilt of this horrible traffic; and that this introduction is repugnant to the fundamental principle of free-trade. While they consider the measures of Sir Robert Peel's government were tending to carry out these principles, in a manner consistent with a sense of moral obligation and national honour, by relaxing the duties in favour of foreign free-grown sugar, this Committee are the more deeply disappointed at the entire absence of any such feature in the plan now proposed by Lord J. Russell, now the Act of 1846 is admitted to have produced such lamentable results.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,  
RICHARD T. CADBURY, Chairman.

#### ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

LETTER OF THE REV. JOHN CLARKE, FROM WESTERN AFRICA,  
ON IMMIGRATION.

Berwick-upon-Tweed, May 11th, 1848.

DEAR SIR,—I should with much gratitude and joy repair to London, to be with you at your annual meeting on the 22nd, and in time for your meeting on the 20th, at the Hall of Commerce, but a severe illness, of a serious nature, will not allow me to hope that I shall be sufficiently well to journey by the time of your meetings. I raise myself in bed to write you these lines, and to assure you that my heart and soul go with you in your god-like work. I have seen enough of slavery and the slave-trade, and the fearful cruelty of the immigration system, to induce me to hate them all. Free emigration from Africa to any extent is impossible. I could go along the whole line of coast from Goree to Mozambique, and show that only at Sierra Leone, and the Cape of Good Hope, could free men be found *who might go*. As to the Kroo Coast, the free-traders will not emigrate; and the poor boys, said to be free, are not so; they are not consulted, but are sold for a few years, instead of for life, to the captains of vessels; and when they return they must give up their pay to the chief, who generally returns a part, and supplies a woman to the Kroo for his box of cloth.

I always disapproved of the Sugar Act of 1846, and regard it as a great evil under the circumstances; but believe, if the system of management of properties in the West Indies were altered, free planters could cope with cruel slave-drivers. If doubloons, dollars, and absentee proprietors were the emigrants, and if the thousands thrown away to purchase misery and death to Irish, Scotch, English, German, Maltese, Portuguese from Madeira, Africans from Sierra Leone, and Coolies from the East Indies, to all who have emigrated to the West Indies, if these sums had been employed in paying honestly the labourer his shilling or eighteen-pence a day, for good work, well performed, no islands unblest with liberty could have vied with those fertile and lovely lands, where liberty has been for nearly ten years enjoyed. It is gross mismanagement which ruins the West Indies. Most estates are fearfully mortgaged—and few proprietors can go to manage their own estates—those men who do manage them, do it for themselves; and the sooner they can make them appear valueless, and buy them for themselves, they think it is the better. I came home last month with a St. Vincent proprietor—he could get nothing from his estates, and went to see what was the matter. He found all expences going on as in profitable times, when he had his £3,000 per annum. The only alteration was in the sum sent to him. He employed other managers, and left, feeling that he might confidently expect in future from his estates £1,500 a year. In Jamaica, the money thrown away, by the House of Assembly, &c., is a sum which bespeaks anything rather than poverty and distress. The late vote of Parliament of £170,000, to bring emigrants to Demarara and Trinidad, is most unjust and cruel; for it is the money paid to procure suffering and death for thousands; and good to none but shipowners and agents of the emigration societies.

JOHN CLARKE.

LETTER FROM A CORRESPONDENT TO THE EDITOR, ON THE STATE  
OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE IN HOLLAND.

Rotterdam, June 2nd, 1848.

Sir,—As you have always taken such a deep interest in the cause of emancipation in the Dutch colonies, you will certainly be much gratified to

hear that this question has made great progress in public opinion during the last few months. The present ministry appear to be in favour of the total abolition of slavery; and, in several of the numerous addresses which have lately been forwarded to them from many principal towns, indicative of support to them in the liberal opinions they have expressed respecting the future government of the country, the importance of measures for the speedy abolition of slavery in the Dutch foreign possessions has been strongly urged, and the opinion is gaining ground that our new constitution, from which so much good is expected when it comes into operation, should be entirely free from all taint of slavery. Manfully has Holland stood the political and commercial crisis occasioned by the late occurrences in neighbouring countries, and while she now wishes for as much liberty for herself as is consistent with social order, she will not much longer delay an act of imperative justice to those who look to her for support and protection, and are still suffering under cruel bondage. I shall feel obliged by your inserting these few lines in your next "Reporter," if you can find room, and I remain, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

A. J.

#### SCENE AT WASHINGTON (U. S.)—ESCAPE OF EIGHTY SLAVES—RECAPTURE, &c.

Washington, April 16th.

Yesterday this city was greatly excited on account of the spread of the news that some eighty slaves had left without bidding their masters adieu, or asking leave. They left on Saturday night last, on board of a schooner called the *Pearl*, the captain of which was to take them to the head of the bay for four dollars per head. A slave, who knew the facts, was compelled, under the lash, to reveal them, on Sunday morning, and Baltimore was telegraphed immediately, and a steam-boat from there started in pursuit, which came upon them while they were at anchor at the mouth of the river, awaiting a breeze. As soon as their arrival was announced, together with the fact that the captain was there, the most intense excitement was manifested by the multitude. Oaths that would make your blood curdle in your veins were poured forth in torrents, and vengeance seemed depicted upon the countenances of the fierce tribe. In the meantime some of the officers, to prevent the mob from glutting their vengeance upon the poor fellow, put him into a carriage, and drove to the jail with all speed. The procession then moved on towards the United States' jail of the city of Washington, and I hastened on in advance to get a fair view of the slaves. The men were tied together in couples with ropes. Some of them were stout, fine-looking fellows, but their countenances wore an expression of sadness. There were about thirty women, some of whom carried babes, and others led little children. Many of them were weeping and bewailing their hard fate. There were some twenty fierce-looking fellows who acted as a guard, with large cudgels in their hands, which they would occasionally raise over the heads of the poor victims, whom might had placed in their power, and threaten to stop their *snivelling* by force if they continued it. Some of them were even whiter than the ruffians who drove them. I counted eighty-five who entered the jail to await their doom. They will, I hear, be sent south, as missionaries, no doubt, to point pilgrims to the north star.

*Great Excitement—Meeting in front of the Patent-Office—The National Era Office to be removed, &c.*—The city has been in a most unparalleled state of excitement since dusk. At about eight o'clock, not less than three thousand persons had assembled in front of the *National Era* office, an Abolition paper, which has been published here for more than a year past. Through the efforts of a number of our most popular citizens, the assemblage was prevailed on to move to the front of the Patent-Office. A resolution has been adopted to appoint a committee of thirty-five to wait immediately upon the proprietors of the *National Era* and to warn them to quit *instantly*. In case of their refusal to move off their materials, within a given time, the committee are instructed to cause them to be taken out of the district themselves. The committee has just been appointed, and the meeting is still in progress. The excitement is unabated.

(From the *National Era*.)

The rumour that the office of the *National Era* was concerned in the escape of the slaves in the *Pearl*, is utterly groundless—this its originators know, but they are willing to use it to inflame popular feeling against our press. Whatever we do, we do openly. We cherish an instinctive abhorrence of any movement which would involve us in the necessity of concealment, strategy, or trickery of any kind. No! no! We understand this outrage—it is aimed at the freedom of the press. We own and edit a paper which is as free as the winds of heaven. It bows neither to slavery nor to the mob. We stand upon our rights as a man, as an American citizen, and will use these rights in speaking and writing freely upon any subject we please, despite all threats or violence. It is a damning disgrace, that at the very moment we are rejoicing with the people of France at their triumph over a despot who undertook to enslave the press, an attempt should be made to strike down the freedom of the press in the capital city of this Republic, in sight of the National Legislature. We

are again threatened—the outrage is to be repeated again, it is said. And for what? What is our offence? Is there a man in this community whom we have injured? Have we not been kind and courteous to all men, studious of the propriety which ought to distinguish the discussion of all important questions? There is no man in this city who has examined our paper that finds any fault with its tone, style, or temper. We yield to no violence. It cannot be that in the nineteenth century, in the face of a world struggling for free thought, free speech, free action, and looking up to this Republic for example and encouragement, a free press should be put down by violence in the capital city of this Republic.

Senate, April 20th.

Mr. PALFREY rose to a question of personal privilege of a member of this House. He then read the paper which he held in his hand, as follows:—

"Whereas common report has represented to members of this House that a lawless mob has assembled within the district of Columbia on each of the two nights last past, and has committed acts of violence, setting at defiance the laws and constituted authorities of the United States, and menacing individuals of this body and other persons residing in this city: Therefore,

"Resolved—That a select committee of five members be appointed to inquire into the facts above referred to; and to report the facts, with their opinion whether any legislation is necessary or expedient in the premises; and that they further have leave to sit during the sessions of the House."

Mr. VENABLE obtained the floor. It was with extreme and deep reluctance, he said, that he felt himself compelled to approach the discussion of the question which had been thrown before them to-day. He saw the South persecuted, taunted, harassed, held up to odium to the world—continually held up—until he had received from his own district and section of country urgent appeals. Are we to be made odious—are our institutions continually to be dragged before the public, by the fanatic and the hypocrite to taunt and sneer at, and are our dearest rights to be abandoned by those who represent us? He had heard that a member of the House had volunteered his services—had gone to the jail for the purpose of throwing the weight of his character, and influence, and talents, in defence of men who had plundered the owners in the District of their slaves, and were caught with the negroes in their possession!

Mr. GIDDINGS asked to be permitted to explain, and, the floor being yielded, said, if the gentleman alluded to him, he would say unhesitatingly—it was due to the gentleman from North Carolina that he should say to him, and the House, and the country, most distinctly, that he did visit the prison yesterday. He did so in the character of a man, as well as a member of the House; he said to the keeper of the prison, who, so far as he knew, behaved entirely gentlemanly, that he came there to say to those men who were incarcerated under this charge, that they should have counsel provided for them. The keeper of the prison heard every word he uttered—that he had brought with him a gentleman who would serve as their counsel; that he did it for the purpose of protecting their legal rights, so that upon their trial they might have the laws of the land dealt out to them as they were to other people; that he was persuaded no illegal violence would be used. For that purpose, and from his own promptings of humanity, he had visited them to give them this information. Now let gentlemen say what they please.

Mr. GAYLE—Was the gentleman's object to reward these men and approve their course? Or was it mere benevolence, to defend men who could not defend themselves?

Mr. GIDDINGS was glad that the gentleman from Alabama had put to him that question. He had gone there to say to those men that no mob violence should take their lives; that his influence, and the aid of counsel, and the law, should save them from a barbarous mob. He had gone there from the promptings of humanity; he had never seen or heard of them, or known anything of them, before.

Mr. HASKELL (the floor being yielded) desired to ask the gentleman from Ohio two questions, and hoped the gentleman would give him, as far as he should find it convenient, a categorical answer:—the first was, whether he justified those slaves, who had lately made an attempt to escape from their owners in the District of Columbia, in that attempt?

Mr. GIDDINGS said, to the question which had been put to him, whether he justified the slaves who had left their masters in the District of Columbia, in pursuit of their liberty, he could have no hesitation in answering before an assembled universe. He held, as did our fathers in 1776, that all men are born equal, and that to protect their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, Governments are framed among men. Now, believing that mankind, as they came from God, were equal, he had ever been taught by his fathers—and here he would say to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Venable] that he (Mr. G.) boasted not that his fathers fought for liberty. Why did not the gentleman himself fight for it?

After some interruption—

Mr. GIDDINGS (resuming) remarked that he saw gentlemen from the South were excited on the subject, and he might become excited. But it was a beautiful question; and if the doughfaces would only not interfere they would have a fine fight. He was stating his views (he continued) on the rights of humanity, and he said to the gentleman from Tennessee, that he held precisely with the fathers of 1776, to whom he had alluded. He held to the principle for which the gentleman's father and his contended at Bunker Hill and Yorktown; he held to the principle on which this Government was based for its support—that man was free and equal; and that he who attempted to interfere between his God and himself, to interfere with his God-given rights, did it at his peril. He held that he who stepped between him and his God, and attempted either to rob him of his life or liberty, did it at his peril; and so far as God and nature had bestowed on him the power, he should not do it. He held that every human being who came into the world and breathed the air God had created, came into it with this right; and he who attempted to interfere with it, did so at his peril. He held that there never was a more just and righteous retribution than was inflicted upon the Africans, in 1804, when Decatur and Somers went there, and when these men who enslaved their fellow-men were made themselves to bite the dust. There never was a more glorious cause to fight for; nor would he ask for a more glorious death than to die in just such a cause. He held that it was right; and he held that any man, when he enslaved his fellow-man—when the hand of power was brought to bear on his God-given rights—his "inalienable rights" (to use the words of our fathers), had the right to defend that liberty; and to come down to the gentleman's specific question—

Mr. HASKELL—I am very glad to hear you reach it.

Mr. GIDDINGS (continuing his sentence)—I say that the slaves of this district, when they felt the hand of oppression bearing on them, possessed before the universal world, and before God himself, the right to free themselves by any means God has put into the power—

Mr. HASKELL—The gentleman has answered that question. I am satisfied.

Mr. GIDDINGS (retaining the floor)—I am not. I want to finish my answer.

Mr. HASKELL—Inasmuch as the gentleman has justified this attempt of these slaves to escape from their rightful owners, I call on him to know whether he justifies the thieves who stole them?

Mr. GIDDINGS—I do not know that there were any thieves.

Mr. HASKELL—The men, then, the individuals, the parties who were engaged in this kidnapping?

Mr. GIDDINGS—I say, unhesitatingly, where laws are in force, where the legal constitutional laws of the land enforce penalties on such actions, they are to be obeyed. I am not permitted to interfere with the rights of the people of this district, because I owe allegiance to my Government, and he who interferes does it at his peril. There can be no difference between the gentleman and myself on that subject.

Mr. HASKELL—Then do I understand the gentleman to justify these men?

Mr. GIDDINGS—I say that those who did it, did it at their peril.

Mr. HASKELL—Does the gentleman condemn these individuals?

Mr. GIDDINGS—I say, unquestionably, if they did it, they violated the law.

Mr. HASKELL—Does the gentleman consider it a violation of law?

Mr. GIDDINGS—Unquestionably, if they aided slaves in escaping. I am not very conversant with the laws of this district, though I have had occasion to look into them—I understand it is a penal act in this district. Now, it is wrong to violate this law, because in entering society we bind ourselves to keep the laws which are constitutionally enacted. There is a legal crime—

Mr. HASKELL—Was there any moral crime?

Mr. GIDDINGS—I do not believe there is the least moral crime on earth in maintaining the rights God has given me.

April 22nd.—Mr. GIDDINGS explained, that had he yesterday been permitted, by the gentleman who had yielded him the floor, to finish his remarks in reply to the inquiry of Mr. HASKELL, he should have said that he believed no man committed a moral wrong in aiding others to obtain their freedom, where they did so without a resort to falsehood and duplicity; but, in regard to the facts of the particular case referred to, he had no personal knowledge, and therefore would express no opinion.

Mr. Stanton rose, and referred to the mischief which the efforts of the Abolitionists were calculated to produce, not only to the country, but to the cause in which they professed to be engaged. He concluded with the remark, that when the negroes of this country shall become qualified for self-government—a period which has not yet arrived—it would be as impossible to restrain or keep them in bondage as it was to restrain or subdue the enslaved millions of Europe.

Mr. Thompson, of Kentucky, also opposed the resolutions. There was nothing before them to show that any menaces had been made of a character to warrant the investigation.

On motion the House adjourned.

### Colonial Intelligence.

**JAMAICA.**—*What is to become of the Coolie Immigrants?*—Our attention has been directed by correspondents in Trelawny, Saint James, and Hanover, to the annoyance which the inhabitants of each of these parishes experience, by the frequent acts of vagrancy of the Coolie immigrants. It is not our intention, at present, to recapitulate the evils that have been inflicted on the land by these strangers, or to indulge in any condemnation of their habits. We believe that much of their unserviceableness and vagrancy must be attributed to the ill-defined laws and regulations attending their importation, and much also to that want of preparation which ought to have been enforced by the parent government, before so many foreigners were brought to the island. We have the prospect before us, that the parochial expenditure of several parishes will be soon increased—that the burthen of taxation will become a great deal heavier than it now is, for the required support of those Coolies whose term of service will expire in April and May, and who will not be re-engaged. Inquiries have been made, whether Government has prepared places of refuge for such of these strangers as will be unable to find employment, or procure, by labour, the means of subsistence; but no satisfactory answer has been elicited, and, therefore, the public have a right to suppose that no provision has yet been thought of. We learn, from undoubted authority, that, in Trelawny, hundreds of these people will be discarded in the course of a few weeks; the same thing will happen in Saint James, and Hanover. We respectfully call the attention of His Excellency the Governor to the fact. What, in the name of humanity, is to become of hundreds, nay, thousands of individuals, who will assuredly be cast off, and who, whatever may be their faults, ought not to be left to shift for themselves? We earnestly entreat the authorities to lose no time in ascertaining what prospect there is of re-engagements being made, and the number of those who are in a state of miserable destitution; for it will be most unpardonable, if the rulers of the land are taken by surprise. Would it not be desirable that those Coolies who have turned out utterly worthless, or who have not sufficient physical strength to labour on estates, should be shipped at once to their native country? The first loss, in this case, would be the best. At all events, some means should be adopted to prevent the occurrence of the evils with which we are threatened. Are the cities, towns, and highways of the colony to be over-run with a houseless, starving set of miserable wretches, weak in body, and becoming daily more and more incapable of enduring the lightest description of work? If Government has not yet prepared, and is not making preparation for the event to which we have alluded, what must be the inevitable result? Without food, and without money to purchase it, starvation or theft must follow. Without shelter, and the commonest necessities of life, many a poor wanderer will perish from disease and want, or depend for a precarious existence on frequent depredations, or by begging from door to door. These are painful circumstances for consideration, and we avail ourselves of an early opportunity to call upon his Excellency the Governor for immediate action. For the credit of Jamaica, let us hope that the pages of her history will not be blackened with the recital of the sufferings of a friendless people, who have been brought here through the mistaken policy of our representatives.—*Fal. Post, March 24.*

**BRITISH GUIANA.**—**ARRIVAL OF IMMIGRANTS.**—We subjoin a list of arrivals of immigrants since we gave our last Colonial News. The *Aurora*, eighty-eight days from Calcutta, with 207 immigrants. This is the second Coolie transport of the season. They are said to be very fine people. The *Tamerlane* from Calcutta with 218, and the *Candahar* from Madras with 300; the ship *Apollite*, 512 tons, Captain Gardiner, ninety days from Madras, with 271 emigrants. We regret to state that she was compelled to remain in quarantine, in consequence of small-pox being on board. Not less than fifty cases of this dreadful disease occurred during the passage, eleven of which resulted in death. The number of cases now on board are six. The brig *Helena* from Sierra Leone, with 121 people. She was sixteen days out, and lost 12 Africans on the voyage. On the 8th, the brig *Rowley*, another vessel that had been, though in a different quarter, on an emigration cruise, came in with about a dozen people or thereabouts from Madeira. It seems, that while at that island the Portuguese authorities, who have latterly become as careful of their subjects as Governor M'Donald is of his, fined her for attempting to carry away people, who had not taken out the regular passes. It is said, that a government steamer is constantly employed off the island in hindering the natives from leaving. On the 11th, the ship *Emerald Isle* arrived in ninety-two days from Madras, with 263 people. The *Lord Hungerford*, 736 tons, Captain W. H. Norman, ninety-two days from Madras, with 358 Coolies. Of these, 209 are adult males, 34 male children under

fourteen years, 82 adult females, 30 female children under fourteen years, and 3 female infants under twelve months. There were 19 deaths during the voyage, namely, 10 of females, and 9 of males, and 3 births, all of females. The *Una*, from Sierra Leone, with 189 Africans; 240 people were embarked, 51 died on the passage, and of the remainder who have arrived, 34, we are sorry to say, were sent to the Hospital. Those in health were sent to Berbice. There were 167 more in the African yard, who refused to go on board, which is not surprising, considering that they had just escaped from a slave-vessel. "It is impossible," says the *Royal Gazette*, "that a parcel of ignorant savages, most of them children, could be able to form an opinion as to the advantages (!) to be derived by emigration to British Guiana."

**TRINIDAD.**—**WHAT IS TO BECOME OF THE IMMIGRANTS?**—The present state of the labouring population of this colony is a theme of the deepest interest. That there exists at present a superabundance of labour, as compared with the amount of staple production, is a clearly demonstrated fact; and that misery and destitution, to almost an indefinite degree, will in a short time be spread amongst them, is painfully apparent, unless something in the meantime be done. That the abandonment, even temporarily, of — some say — even half the estates in the island, must inevitably induce either emigration or death, to a very large amount of our present population, is a fact which must surely strike every enlightened observer with undeniable truth;—nay, that the first of these alternatives — emigration — is already determined on, by those who can help themselves, we have been satisfactorily assured; and that death has done, and is still doing his work with painful rapidity, even now, is being daily pressed on our attention. Under such circumstances, then, we say, that "the day and the hour," for the Government to act, has arrived; and that if nothing is done, the guilt of immolating this fine colony on the altar of indolence must be laid to their charge, accompanied by the wails and execrations of their suffering fellow-men.—*Trin. Spec.*

**ARRIVAL OF IMMIGRANTS.**—We have had another importation of Coolies from Calcutta, by the ship *Agincourt*, consisting of 276 men, thirty-seven women, and twenty-four children; in all, 337. We understand that a number of them have been taken by the planters, and sent down the coast. It is said, however, that a considerable quantity still remain on board. The practice of distributing them, on board, to the applicants, was the system pursued in this instance. So far as we have heard, this shipment might be of some use to the colony, as the Calcutta Coolies we hear highly spoken of; but we cannot help thinking with pain and sorrow on this arrival, for several reasons. First:—They are not wanted, and will therefore not likely be better used than others have been here. Second:—They will be an addition to the evils of our social system, in more ways than one. Inevitable misery awaits many of them, from the usage they will have to meet; and the grave objection we noticed in former importations of immigrants has been again repeated here. We ask any man of common knowledge to look at the apportioning of the classes of these immigrants, and say, whether it is wise for any Government to receive them in such proportions? We forbear to dwell on this point, as remonstrance is now "too late."

A few other immigrants have also come in from the other colonies, making the numbers from the 1st January to stand thus:—509 men, 166 women, and 71 children. Total, 746.—*Ibid. April 19.*

**MORE COOLIES.**—We sincerely regret that another shipment of Coolies has arrived in the Gulf, by the *Duke of Bedford*, 92 days from Calcutta. This vessel is reported as bringing 263 men, twenty-five women, and ten children; in all, 298. We learn that there have been twenty-eight deaths during the passage, which is being remarked upon as a strange circumstance, considering that other vessels have been arriving in better condition.—*Ibid. May 6.*

### DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following subscriptions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

	Donations.	Subscriptions.
<i>London.</i> —Alexander, G. W. ....	50 0 0	—
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